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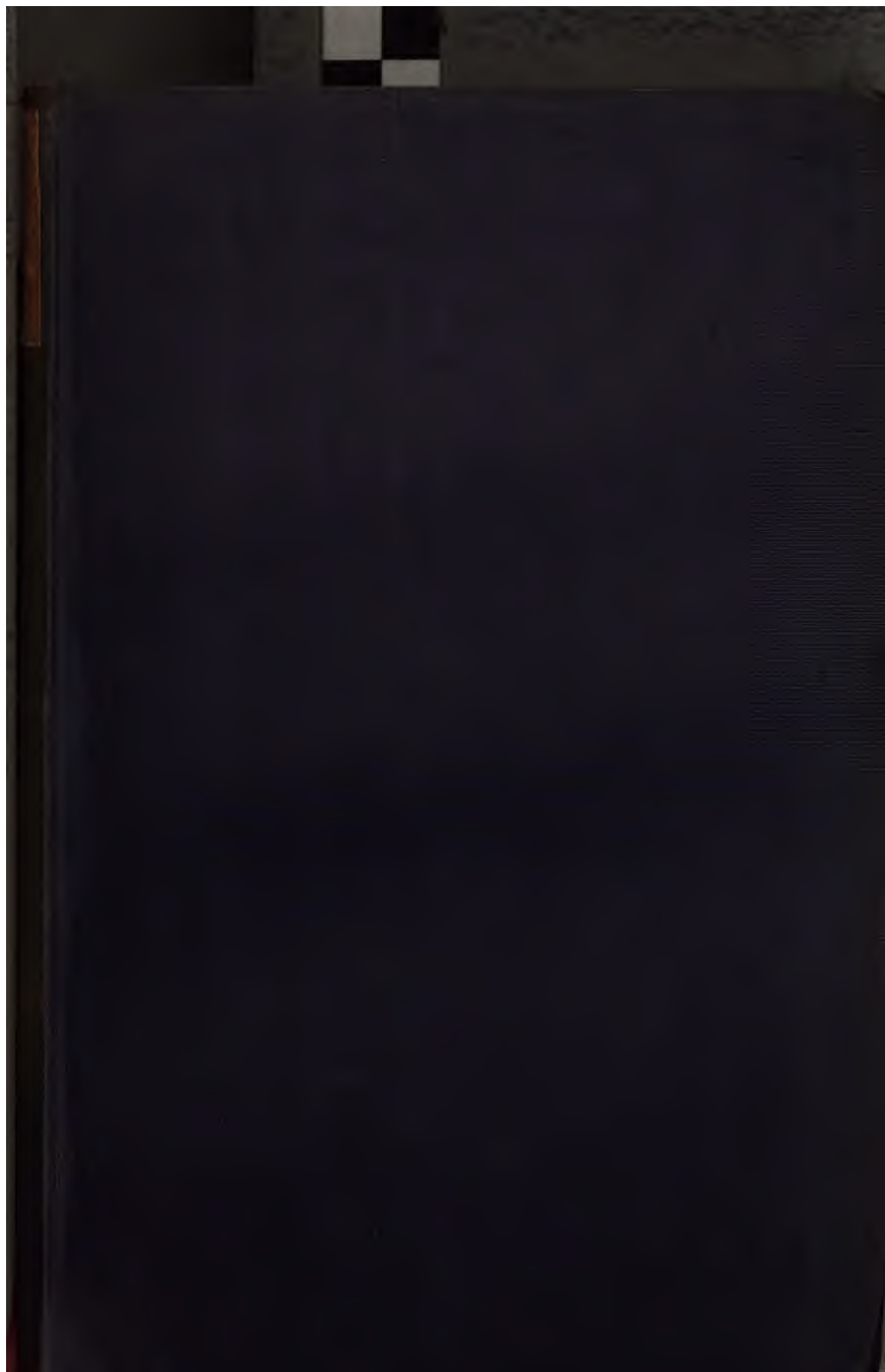
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49. 31.

THE
ARGUMENT OF DR. BAYFORD

ON BEHALF OF

THE REV. G. C. GORHAM.

GORHAM, CLERK, AGAINST THE BISHOP OF EXETER :

THE
ARGUMENT OF DR. BAYFORD

ON BEHALF OF

THE REV. G. C. GORHAM,

IN THE ARCHES COURT OF CANTERBURY,

MARCH, 1849.

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PREFACE.

CONSIDERING the length to which the discussion, which forms the subject of this Speech, has been extended, the novelty of the proceeding itself, the variety of topics embraced, and the multitude of books to which reference was made; it may be convenient that the general reader should be informed, how the question has arisen; and what is the nature of the particular charge of unsoundness in doctrine (in one word, *Heresy*) against which, as brought by the Bishop of Exeter, Mr. Gorham is here defended by one of his learned advocates.

The facts lie in small compass. The Rev. George Cornelius Gorham, B.D., for many years Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, being the Incumbent of the vicarage of St. Just-in-Penwith, in the county of Cornwall and diocese of Exeter, was presented by the Lord Chancellor on behalf of the Crown, in the month of November, 1847, to the Living of Brampford Speke, in the same diocese. Instead of instituting him to that benefice, the Bishop of Exeter (who had previously made an ineffectual attempt to prevent the issuing of the presentation, by withholding his countersignature to a testimonial) thought fit to examine Mr. Gorham as to his opinions on the subject of Baptism. That Examination having been continued through many days, and extending to 149 questions, terminated in the Bishop's refusal to in-

stitute Mr. Gorham,—“ By reason of his holding doctrines
 “ contrary to the true Christian Faith, and the doctrines
 “ contained in the Articles and Formularies of the United
 “ Church of England and Ireland, and especially in the
 “ Book of Common Prayer and administration of the
 “ Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the
 “ Church, according to the use of the United Church of
 “ England and Ireland.” The only remedy* of a clergy-
 man so refused being by what is technically termed
 Duplex Querela,† the present proceeding was instituted.
 On the 15th of June, 1848, a Monition was taken out
 requiring the Bishop to shew cause why he refused In-
 stitution; in the Answer to which it was averred on the
 part of his Lordship, that Mr. Gorham “held, and had
 “ maintained, that spiritual regeneration is not given or
 “ conferred in the Holy Sacrament of Baptism—in par-
 “ ticular that infants are not made therein members of
 “ Christ and the children of God—contrary to the plain
 “ teaching of the Church of England in her Articles and
 “ Liturgy, and especially contrary to the divers Offices of
 “ Baptism, the Office of Confirmation, and the Catechism,
 “ severally contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and
 “ administration of the Sacraments.”

This was and is denied on the part of Mr. Gorham: and
 as (in the Bishop’s Answer to the Monition) no reference
 was made to any part of the Examination in support of the
 accusation, it was necessarily a matter of inference, the

* The remedy by Quare Impedit in the Temporal Courts, is provided
 for the patron, not for the clerk.

† No precedent of this form of action is to be found on the Records
 of the Court of Arches since the adoption of the Canon of 1604. This
 alone may suffice to shew the extraordinary nature of the whole pro-
 ceeding.

more involved in doubt and difficulty, from the nature of the Examination itself, which had been so conducted as to preclude for the most part anything like a combined or complete statement of Mr. Gorham's opinion on that subject; or any connected exposition of doctrine.

The following, it is believed, may be considered a fair though concise representation of what is held by the Bishop to be the doctrine of the Church of England; and so held as that every departure from it is unsoundness sufficient to disqualify for the office of a Minister of the Established Church, viz.:—*That all infants "baptized by a lawful Minister" are spiritually regenerated in and by the act of Baptism: they being invariably and necessarily made thereby partakers of the inward and spiritual grace of the Sacrament.*

Mr. Gorham, on the other hand, appears to hold,—That the blessing of a new birth (or spiritual regeneration) may precede or accompany, or follow, the administration of the Sacrament. That the regenerating grace of God is not absolutely tied to Baptism; and does not so necessarily accompany it, as that every infant, duly baptized with water in the name of the Trinity, is thereby made a partaker of spiritual life, as well as admitted into the outward and visible Church of Christ: for, that right reception is requisite as well as due administration; and, as a prerequisite to the beneficial administration of the rite, there **MUST BE** made on the part of the infant, a declaration of faith, and a promise of future obedience.

The Bishop's ground is very narrow—being confined to certain terms or sentences found in the Baptismal Services, the Catechism, and Order of Confirmation.

The Answer on the part of Mr. Gorham is; that the language of these Services must be read in connexion, and in conformity, with the Articles, which are the more express

dogmatical exposition of doctrine by the Church, whereby it is declared (Art. XXVIII.) that "in such only as "worthily receive the same, have they (the Sacraments) a "wholesome effect or operation." Again, in Art. XXVI., "Such as by faith and rightly do receive the same," &c. "Again, in Art. XXVII., "They that receive Baptism "rightly are grafted into the Church," &c.; in all which passages due reception and not due administration is the point of dogmatical determination; since informality in the celebration of Baptism would, of course, vitiate the Sacrament altogether, and leave no ground for a doctrinal determination of any kind. This again narrows the ground to the single question of qualification in infants—the Bishop contending that all infants are, as such, duly qualified: * Mr. Gorham maintaining, that the express language of both the Ritual and Catechism on that particular point is conclusive against such a position—The Ritual affirming of all children that they are born in original sin and under the wrath of God—The Catechism declaring that they are admitted to Baptism on an express declaration and "promise by their sureties," in reference to qualifications required of persons to be baptized; and from which it states that infants are not exempt. Accordingly, it is observable that in the course of the argument the answer in which this doctrine is set forth; *that teaching of the Church in her Catechism, † was objected to, and declared to be erroneous by the Counsel on the part of the Bishop.‡* So that the charge of heresy against Mr. Gorham, in not adopting a *particular construc-*

* See the Bishop of Exeter's Charge, 1848.

† See the Bishop's Question XLIII., in his Examination (p. 410), as published by Mr. Gorham.

‡ The expressions used by Dr. Addams were, that this Answer in the Catechism was *wrong*—that it ought to be expunged.

tion of the Services of the Church, is supported by rejecting and repudiating the *express teaching* of the Church herself *on that particular point*. Viewing the question as it lies in the leaves of the Prayer-book, and without reference to any evidence of intention or interpretation on the part of the framers of the Articles and Services, authorized or otherwise, Mr. Gorham accepts the whole; uses the Service without scruple; and endeavours to reconcile all, as well Articles with the Liturgy as both with Scripture, which is declared by the Church herself in her Articles to be of paramount authority.

What Mr. Gorham holds, then, and the grounds on which he maintains his opinion as being in true and exact conformity with the teaching of the Church of England is; that the Church proceeds on the hypothesis and in the belief, that the profession of faith and promise of obedience made on the part of the infant are genuine and sincere; in which case Baptism is to the infant that which it is to a sincere adult—a seal of the covenant of God, and of the blessings promised and imparted to all who are truly admitted thereunto.

The Bishop relies on the following passages and expressions, viz.:—In the ministration of public Baptism for infants, the baptized child is declared to be “regenerated” and grafted into the body of Christ’s Church.” Again,—“We yield thee hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that “it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy “Holy Spirit, to receive him for thine own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy Church.” Again, in the Catechism, every baptized child is taught to say that in Baptism it was made “a member of Christ, “the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of “heaven.” Again,—

In the first prayer of the Order of Confirmation are the

following words:—"Who hast vouchsafed to regenerate
"these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost," &c.*

In explanation of these passages, and of the whole structure of the Offices, Mr. Gorham contends, that every Service must be framed upon a general principle or hypothesis, which is thus adapted TO ALL; and that principle or hypothesis, is, (*as it must be to be any Service at all, and to be used at all,*) that admission to the visible Church is *charitably presumed* to be identical with admission to that which is the spiritual and invisible Church. But it does not therefore follow that the blessing of spiritual life is *tied* to Baptism and *conferred* by it; for it may have been given previously, or it may be subsequently conferred, or it may not have been given, or be hereafter given, at all.

Repentance and faith are required in adults *before* Baptism as qualifications for it. Infants who are incapable of both in present act (though not incapable as regards that change of nature and disposition which may, as its faculties expand, develop itself in *act*), are required by the Church to be brought as nearly as possible to the state of adults so qualified, by the declaration and promise made on their behalf; and, so the Church proceeds, on the charitable hypothesis, that all is done in sincerity, whether *for* infants or *by* adults.

Infants are not baptized, because they are not disqualified, as *non ponentes obicem*; but because, *ratione charitatis Ecclesiæ*, they become qualified by the declaration and promise of their sureties. Further, if repentance and faith be the work of the Holy Spirit, then it follows,

* The Bishop introduces the words "lawful minister," as giving effect to Baptism. But, inasmuch as the validity of Baptism by other hands is recognised by the Church of England, it may be a fair subject of inquiry, in what sense his Lordship uses these words when confirming a child not so baptized by a "lawful minister."

from the practice of the Church herself, that in her estimation they are blessings not tied to Baptism; for they have *been received without it*, in the case of every adult candidate for Baptism duly qualified to receive it.

Lastly: it is contended by Mr. Gorham that the expressions used in the Service for the Baptism of Adults, being as strong and explicit as those stated in the case of Infants—inasmuch as they are declared to be “regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ’s Church,” “to be born again, and made heirs of everlasting salvation;” expressions to which the Bishop himself applies the charitable hypothesis, that the Sacrament has been not only duly administered, but also rightly received—the same principle ought to be, and must be applied to infants, and to the expressions of a similar import occurring in the Services relating to them. Averring as he does, that this is the true teaching of the Church of England, Mr. Gorham supports his views by distinct reference to the opinions of the Reformers, by whom the Articles and Services of the Church were settled; and which shew distinctly, unequivocally, and beyond all doubt, the sense in which they were then, and ought now to be, understood.*

* Dr. Bayford had in view what was more important than to correct the errors and expose the mis-statements of the Bishop of Exeter; or there are some in relation to this part of the subject in his Lordship’s last Charge that would hardly have escaped animadversion. At page 41 of that Charge there occurs the following passage:—“The *thanksgivings* after Baptism in the two cases are marked by a very broad distinction. In the one, God is thanked ‘*that it hath pleased Him to regenerate this infant with His Holy Spirit*; to receive him for His own child by *adoption*, and to incorporate him into His holy Church.’ In the other, God is thanked ‘for calling *us* to the knowledge of His grace and faith in Him’—and *that is all*.”

Now, the words that follow *immediately upon the Act of Baptism*, and which *precede the thanksgiving* in both Services, are these:—

There remains one other observation to be made, which has an important bearing on the argument contained in

“ Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that [this child is—in the one Service; in the other, these persons are—] regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ’s Church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits, and with one accord make our prayers unto Him that [this child—they] may lead the rest of [his—their] life according to this beginning.” In the face of this declaration did the Bishop of Exeter write the sentence just quoted. His Lordship proceeds: The newly-baptized adult is indeed subsequently spoken of as “ being *now* born again; for it would ill accord with Christian charity to refuse so to speak of one who has just before solemnly made his baptismal vow; but there is no assertion of his “ being dead unto sin and living unto righteousness”—as of the baptized infant—and that he “ is *made partaker* of the death of the Son” of God: in other words, hath assuredly received the inward and spiritual grace of Baptism.”

To give force to the Bishop’s words, if indeed they have any meaning, the Service should never be followed by the blessing for which priest and people have joined in prayer, viz., that “ they may be sanctified with the Holy Ghost;” and (in the same words that are used in the infant Service) “ coming to thy holy Baptism, may receive remission of their sins by spiritual regeneration.”

To the word “ now,” in the second clause of the Bishop’s sentence, is appended in the Charge the following note, viz. :—“ This word *now* is here very important. We can hardly doubt that it was inserted in order to contradict the false and unsound pretension—that the baptized was born again *before Baptism*, by reason of the *faith* with which he came unto that Sacrament.” It is surprising how much error and inconsistency may be crowded into one page. The concluding address “ to the baptized” begins thus :—“ As for you who “ have now by Baptism put on Christ, it is your part and duty also, being made the children of God and of the light by faith in Jesus Christ, to walk answerably to your Christian calling, and as becometh the children of light, remembering always that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession,” &c., declaring, as plainly as words can express any meaning, that the baptized was born of faith, else he had not by Baptism put on Christ. It is clear as light that THE false and unsound pretension is the doctrine of the Bishop of Exeter, which is that of Rome also.

The concluding passage in the Charge on this subject is in these words :—“ For speaking thus, I doubt not that I shall be accused of a

the following pages, and which may also tend to remove a prejudice attempted to be created against Mr. Gorham, for coinciding with the views of the Reformers. It is said that the theology of those men, and of that day, was decidedly Calvinistic, and therefore unscriptural and erroneous.

This, in the first place, is plainly begging the question; in the second, it is fatal to the argument against Mr. Gorham.

Whether right or wrong, in a scriptural sense, the inquiry is now as to *a fact*, viz., the doctrine of the Church, and of those who framed the Services. If that language exhibits proof of a large and liberal construction of the Services, it is an ill return to their liberality to exclude their *sense* of their *own* words. That Cranmer and his associates in the work of Reformation, and, indeed, that all the great divines of the reigns of Edward

wish to drive many pious and conscientious men out of the ministry of our Church. Now I should be very sorry (nor am I at all likely) to drive away any single conscientious man, whose conscience *duly informed* tells him that he ought to stay. But I have no scruple in saying, that those ought to go, whose conscience will not allow them to stay, unless it be first seared, or seduced by considerations of temporal convenience, or other unholy motive. The particular on which they differ from the plain teaching of the Church is not one of light moment. If infants be not born again of the Spirit of God in Baptism, the Church which affirms that they are, not only teaches superstition of the grossest kind, but also teaches a lie both to and of the Holy Ghost. But if baptized infants be so born again, those ministers who teach the contrary not only are false to their most solemn vows, but teach as God's word what is manifestly sacrilegious and blasphemous."

The Bishop is as unsuccessful in his argument as he is inaccurate in his references. And it is as difficult to understand how he escapes from the horns of his own dilemma, as it can be to reconcile his habitual tone of evil surmisings, calumny, and vituperation, with the religion and the mind of Christ. Such railing accusations as his are no evidence of a good cause.

VI. and Elizabeth were Calvinists (in the fair application of that term), is a fact, supported by historical evidence ; and this affords a probable clue to the right interpretation of their language. But though they held what are usually called Calvinistic opinions as a system of divinity ; and distinct marks of it are to be found in the Liturgy, as well as Articles of the Church ; they did not hold them arbitrarily, oppressively, exclusively. The charitable and enlarged spirit of those men invited a corresponding spirit and conduct in others. It may be, and it is the fact, that the language of the Church of England has been pressed on the one side and on the other, and her Services construed (this in particular) according to one or other mode of interpretation, as the one system or the other has been in the ascendant for the time being ; and it is no sufficient answer to one who holds with the views of the Reformers ; that at the beginning of the seventeenth century a body of divines arose, who departed from the doctrine held by the fathers of the Reformation and their successors, and that the same system is advocated by the Tractarians of the present day. He is most likely to be a true Churchman who steers a course that does no violence, either to the supremacy of God, or the responsibility of man ; avoiding alike the fatal errors of Rome, from which England was rescued by the Reformation ; and the extremes of Puritanism, into which the country fell, but recovered from her fall. There is no evidence in this Examination from which it can be determined whether Mr. Gorham does or does not adopt the system of theology usually called Calvinistic. He has modestly and wisely abstained from connecting *the* point of doctrine to the discussion of which he was forced, with any other doctrine which the Bishop might have been inclined to dispute. It is an unworthy attempt to raise a prejudice

against him by the application of a party name ; a name never applied in the way of disparagement, except by persons who are either ignorant of the system to which they attach a term of reproach, or who use it to cover their retreat when foiled in argument. Mr. Gorham, as has been already observed, does honestly and conscientiously adhere to the doctrine of the Church of England in all its length and breadth, without being driven to the wretched expedient of evasion or mutilation, or calling in the aid of tradition to make up "three-fourths"* or any other portion of the sum and substance of religion as dogmatically determined in her Articles, familiarly taught in her Catechism, and devotionally expressed in her Services.

The name of "Horsley" will not shrink from comparison with that of any Bishop of the present day.

The passages about to be quoted may not indeed refer *directly* to the subject under discussion ; but that is so interwoven with other fundamental truths affected by it—in particular, the Romish doctrine of justification in Baptism is so directly opposed to justification by faith—the *Articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiæ*—and the whole circle of truth established at the Reformation is, in fact, so endangered by that which is now used in support of the charge against Mr. Gorham, that no apology need be made for the introduction of the following quotations from Bishop Horsley's "Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. Asaph," in the year 1806 :—

"There is nothing to hinder the Arminian and the "highest Supralapsarian Calvinist from walking together

* An expression used by Dr. Addams, the leading Counsel for the Bishop of Exeter, was, "If you take away tradition, three-fourths of our religion are gone." (Vide VI. of the XXXIX. Articles.)

“ in the Church of England and Ireland as friends and
 “ brothers, if they both approve the discipline of the
 “ Church, and both are willing to submit to it. Her
 “ discipline has been approved—it has been submitted
 “ to—it has been, in former times, most ably and
 “ zealously defended by the highest Supralapsarian Cal-
 “ vinists. Such was the great Usher ; such was Whitgift ;
 “ such were many more—burning and shining lights of
 “ our Church in her early days (when first she shook off
 “ the Papal tyranny), long since gone to the resting-place
 “ of the spirits of the just.” Again :—“ Faith and repent-
 “ ance, Christ’s atonement, justification, grace, the new
 “ birth, good works as the necessary fruits of that faith
 “ which justifies and the symptoms of the believer’s
 “ sanctification, the merit of Christ’s obedience and the
 “ want of merit in our own : upon these subjects you
 “ cannot preach too often, taking care to stick close to
 “ the Bible, the XXXIX. Articles, and the Homilies.
 “ Let your proofs be texts of Scripture, applying imme-
 “ diately to the point, in their first and obvious meaning,
 “ without the aid either of critical inference or meta-
 “ physical argument. By this method and way of
 “ preaching, you will never bewilder either yourselves or
 “ your hearers ; and you will effectually secure the people
 “ against the errors of the Antinomians on the one hand,
 “ and of the Pelagians on the other. The Calvinistic
 “ Doctrine is too apt to degenerate into the one, and
 “ the Arminian into the other ; but true Calvinism and
 “ true Arminianism are guiltless of both.

“ Apply yourselves with the whole strength and power
 “ of your mind to do the work of evangelists. Proclaim
 “ to those who are at enmity with God, and children of
 “ his wrath, the glad tidings of Christ’s pacification ;
 “ sound the alarm, to awaken to a life of righteousness

“ a world lost and dead in trespasses and sins ; lift aloft
 “ the blazing torch of revelation, to scatter its rays over
 “ them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death, and
 “ guide the footsteps of the benighted wanderer into the
 “ paths of life and peace.”

From a feeling of delicacy (it may be presumed), not any reference was made in argument to the writings of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. But as no such consideration is applicable *here*, and as there can be no more appropriate conclusion to these remarks, they are thus ended by a quotation from one of the Lectures on the 3d chapter of the Gospel by St. John, published by his Grace, when Bishop of Chester, in the year 1835.

More that is of a like spiritual and devotional character will be found in that volume, as in other works of the highly-honoured prelate—*serus in Cælum redeat*.

“ Except,” &c., “ The kingdom of God is a kingdom of
 “ holiness, and man is not holy, but corrupt. The Saviour
 “ of the world has provided a way for his purification ;
 “ therefore, the entrance into his religion is by an em-
 “ blematic action, which indicates that man both needs
 “ and desires to be renewed and purified : desires that as
 “ water removes the defilement of the flesh, so the Spirit
 “ of God may remove the corruption of the heart. If a
 “ man comes, like the Ethiopian, or like the Jews, of their
 “ own accord, and from personal conviction, and says :
 “ ‘ See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized,’
 “ he makes this acknowledgment for himself. If an in-
 “ fant is brought to Baptism, the same acknowledgment
 “ is made by those who bring him. The parents, or
 “ whoever take the parents’ place, come with this avowal.
 “ Their child is of a corrupt stock, sinful ; but they de-
 “ sire that he may be born again, washed in the fountain
 “ opened for sin and for all uncleanness, and that a new

" heart may be put within him, 'in the name of the Lord
 " Jesus and by the Spirit of our God;' and thus they
 " enrol him as a member of God's kingdom. It were
 " well if every child which is presented in the temple
 " for the outward ceremony of Baptism were brought
 " with this intelligent conviction; with a sense of the
 " necessity of this spiritual regeneration, with an earnest
 " desire and prayer that it might be obtained! The
 " Lord approved of the zeal of those parents 'who
 " brought their young children to him, that he might
 " touch them.' It was done in faith that he was a
 " prophet; it was done in hope that a prophet's blessing
 " might avail. It was done in earnestness and full pur-
 " pose of heart; for when his disciples rebuked those
 " that brought them, they still persevered till Jesus 'laid
 " his hands upon them and blessed them.' And so
 " there is reason to believe that he will hear and favour
 " the prayers of all parents who come in like simplicity of
 " heart and faith: who feel that they have bestowed upon
 " their offspring an earthly corrupt nature, which would
 " lead not to life, but to death; 'for that which is born
 " of the flesh is flesh;' and who, therefore, present
 " their children to Him who can change and renew that
 " nature, and make it like unto his own. For as in
 " Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made
 " alive.

" Would to God, my brethren, that this truth were
 " better understood, and this primitive, this scriptural,
 " this reasonable Baptism, more generally practised. Then
 " we should not find so many who, though born of water,
 " as far as concerns the baptismal rite, are evidently
 " not made new creatures by the Spirit, who renews and
 " sanctifies the soul."

THE ARGUMENT, ETC.

A translation of the Latin Extracts will be found in the Appendix.

manner justify the Bishop's refusal to institute him to the Living of Brampford Speke.

I must, in the first place, advert, though very shortly, to the position, which it has been ingeniously attempted to maintain, that the Bishop of Exeter stands here as the defendant. It is quite true that a monition was taken out on the part of Mr. Gorham, calling upon the Bishop of Exeter to shew cause why he refused Institution to this Living; yet, inasmuch as the Bishop, in his return to that monition, has charged Mr. Gorham with a Canonical offence—in that he holds and has maintained unsound doctrine in regard to the Sacrament of Baptism,—(which, if he does, may no doubt be a sufficient justification for the refusal to institute); the matter has thereby assumed a different shape. The justification is the maintaining of a charge against Mr. Gorham; and, therefore, though it be true as to the mere technicality of the proceeding, that the Bishop of Exeter is in the situation of a defendant; the case, upon its merits, is widely different. On the part of the Bishop there is a grave charge against Mr. Gorham, of unsound doctrine,

and that charge must be made out in the same way as any other—precisely as if the Bishop of Exeter were proceeding, in the first instance, against Mr. Gorham, and were promoting the office of the Judge. The Bishop must make out his case, by shewing what the unsound doctrine is that Mr. Gorham holds. The *onus* lies on the Bishop of Exeter to make good the charge which he has thought fit to bring against Mr. Gorham.

Having set that matter right, I must now beg leave again to advert to what I said on a former occasion, (when the consideration of the Canon was under the attention of the Court,) namely, that Mr. Gorham is a Bachelor of Divinity; that for thirty-six years he has been an ordained Clergyman; that he has resided in several Dioceses, and that there has never before been heard the whisper of an accusation against him for holding any unsound doctrine whatever. That is his position before the Court, and

This being so, what are the circumstances under which we enter upon the present inquiry? They are these:—

In the month of January, 1846, Mr. Gorham was presented by the Crown, through the Lord Chancellor, to the Vicarage of St. Just, in Cornwall, a large Living at the extreme end of the Diocese of Exeter.

It is quite obvious that the Bishop of Exeter stands before this Court as a Prelate exercising more than ordinary care in regard to the soundness of doctrine maintained by the Clergy in his Diocese; because unquestionably the examination of Clerks for institution to Benefices is not of common occurrence. Archbishop Secker asserted the right in his first Charge, and thereby may be supposed to have been bringing before his Clergy that to which ordinarily their attention would not have been called. I admit that, in law, the right exists; but the only instances of its exercise, which have been brought forward, are one by Bishop Burnet, and some by the Bishop of Exeter himself: no other instances whatever

have been adduced, though, as I have said, in point of law, the right unquestionably exists.

I say, then, we are to look at the Bishop of Exeter as a Prelate exercising more than ordinary care with respect to the soundness of doctrine maintained by the Clergy in his Diocese; and we must, therefore, take it for granted that when a Clergyman came from another Diocese into his own, to be placed in the important position which Mr. Gorham was to occupy as the Vicar of St. Just, the Bishop of Exeter did make sufficient inquiries to satisfy himself; and that he therefore knew perfectly who Mr. Gorham was, and that he had been a Clergyman for thirty-five years; that he knew the Dioceses in which he had officiated, and (which there would be no difficulty whatever in ascertaining) that he was acquainted with his general views, and the line that he had adopted on any matters of public interest in which he had taken part during that period. We must conclude, I say, that when Mr. Gorham first came into the Diocese of Exeter, those general inquiries respecting him were made; and that the Bishop was well satisfied with the result of them; because we do not find that there was any resort to an examination then. On the contrary, everything proceeded harmoniously, and Mr. Gorham was, without any hesitation, instituted to the Living of St. Just.

Again,—There has been no attempt to deprive Mr. Gorham of that Living since: consequently, I must take it that between the time when he was instituted to St. Just, and the period when he sought institution to the Living of Brampford Speke, nothing had occurred to render it necessary to take any proceedings against Mr. Gorham—nothing to call on the Bishop in any way to interfere on account of unsound doctrine alleged against him. Therefore we have the matter cleared up to this time.

But, when Mr. Gorham is to be transferred from a

large Living, embracing, at the time when he was instituted to it, about 7,000 souls, and he is to be instituted to a smaller Living containing about 400 parishioners only:—when he is to come from the extremity of the Diocese, where it may be supposed that the care and the eye of the Bishop could not be so minutely extended; and is to be placed in his immediate vicinity, to be directly under his eye, and in a position where every act done must be forthwith brought to the Bishop's attention; then we find that an examination is deemed to be necessary—an examination of unheard-of severity and length; and of which I must say that I really cannot see why it should have gone to the length it did, or why it should have ceased at the point where it terminated: for nothing appears to have been arrived at during the last nine days that had not been elicited in the first five, when, as the Court will see, all the statements which the Bishop has extracted from the examination as being objectionable had occurred. Not a single objection, I repeat, has been taken to any subsequent part of the examination; and, therefore, I say, with regard to the remaining nine days (for fourteen in all were occupied), they were altogether useless, they might very well have been spared; and Mr. Gorham did right in again and again suggesting to the Bishop that he had ample materials for knowing what were his views, and for taking any steps which he might think necessary in respect of them. Thus the matter presents itself at the outset.

I must now call the attention of the Court to a point which seems to have been one too tender for the Bishop's Counsel to notice, and that is, the circumstances which led to the Examination. In Mr. Gorham's book we have an account given us of how this came to pass, although it is a matter which really might have been dispensed with altogether, had not the Bishop of Exeter chosen to bring

Mr. Gorham's book into court. He has, however, put that book forward as evidence—the introduction to it has been commented upon—charge after charge has been brought against Mr. Gorham simply from that introduction, which has no more to do with the cause now pending than any other writings of Mr. Gorham, published at any other period of his life:—but we must *now* go a little further into the contents of that book, and examine that part of it which has not yet been brought under the attention of the Court.

The first offence which Mr. Gorham gave to his Bishop is adverted to in the Bishop's Letter, No. II., page 4, addressed to Mr. Gorham, and dated August 18, 1846:—

“Dear Sir,—I have received your Circular,” (which it seems was an invitation for subscription towards the erection of a Church in the District of Pendeen, and for a population of about 3000 in the north part of Mr. Gorham's parish.)

“I have received your Circular, and will frankly say that I am sorry to see you call the Church ‘the National Establishment.’”

That is the first offence; not a very grave one, I think, nor one that can be very well brought forward against a Clergyman in a Court of Law; so that it is no matter of surprise that we have as yet heard nothing about it: for to make this a rational cause of difference between a Bishop and a Clergyman in his Diocese would be one of the most extraordinary things ever known. How comes it to pass that the Lord Bishop of Exeter has a seat in the House of Lords? How comes it that he could not enter upon the Examination of Mr. Gorham in consequence of having to perform those duties which, as a spiritual Peer, he found it necessary to discharge in the House of Lords? Why, simply because the Church, of which he is a Bishop, is a National Establishment; that is the reason, and the only reason; and, I say, that for a Bishop to come forward and

take up this phrase as a ground of accusation against a Clergyman, is one of the most extraordinary things that could be met with, even in this extraordinary case.

Having received the Bishop's Letter, Mr. Gorham writes an answer; and I wish to read that part of it which refers to the subject, because I think it is a very proper one. It is dated August 26th, No. VIII.—He says,

"I shall be careful not to connect your Lordship's name with the phraseology to which you have objected. I can sincerely say that, in using the term 'National Establishment,' it never occurred to me that any reader could imagine that I considered 'the Church' as the mere creature of the nation, or that I took a low view of its sacred character."

Mr. Gorham says,—I never intended—it never occurred to me as possible, that my language could be so construed.

"I am very far from entertaining such an opinion."

Surely, so far as the answer of a Clergyman could go, there is an entire disclaimer of any improper intention on the part of Mr. Gorham in that matter.

"I adopted a conventional term of very general usage (in former times, at least), and which I consider as simply expressive of the fact, that the Church, of which I am a Minister, is established and endowed by national consent."

I think that this so-called offence might have been here dismissed altogether, and that we need not again have heard anything about the National Church.—But we shall see how that was in the sequel.—I proceed with the narrative of events which, as I say, led up to the Examination. Unfortunately for Mr. Gorham, it was necessary for him to have a Curate to assist in the performance of his duties in this large parish of St. Just, and he did that which a Clergyman would do under the circumstances; he endeavoured to obtain an Assistant

whose views should correspond with his own, with whom he might labour harmoniously, so that there should be no jarring between them on any point. To effect this, he inserted an advertisement in the "Ecclesiastical Gazette" to the following effect:—

"A Curate is wanted by the resident Incumbent of St. Just, Cornwall. He must be an active, pious man, free from all tendency to what is well understood by the term 'Tractarian error.'"

This is his second offence; and the Bishop writes to him a letter, in consequence of which Mr. Gorham inserts another advertisement, varying the phraseology a little, but still leaving it in substance the same. We then come to the Bishop's Letter, No. VI.; and I wish particularly to call the Court's attention to it, because I think this is really the foundation of the present proceedings. It is dated "Bishopstowe, Sept. 14, 1846:"—

"Dear Sir,—I saw in the last 'Ecclesiastical Gazette' an advertisement from you, inviting Candidates who are opposed to Tractarian error, or heresy, or something of that kind.

"Now, although I should be sorry to admit any person who holds unsound opinions in the direction to which I conclude, that your advertisement looks,"—

I say, then, that from the admission of the Bishop of Exeter himself, there are unsound opinions held in the direction to which the advertisement looks. It is impossible to deny that it is so, because it is quite certain that of the party supposed, and indeed many of them known, to be infected with Tractarian error; and to which party allusion is here made—several have gone over to, and taken their position in, the Church of Rome—it would be impossible, therefore, for the Bishop of Exeter to deny for one moment, standing before us as he does, as the Bishop of a Protestant Church, that there were errors existing in that direction. Let us see, then, what Mr.

Gorham's offence was. Can it consist in saying, I want a person who is free from the errors that do exist there? Both are agreed that there are errors in that direction. There must be something more. The Bishop goes on to say:—

“Yet I cannot but highly disapprove of a Clergyman giving his name, in a public advertisement, to a vague, and, therefore, mischievous description, which may be, and often is, applied by the ignorant and thoughtless to some of the best and soundest ministers of the Church.”

So that, because Mr. Gorham writes an advertisement which, in the opinion of the Bishop, may be applied “*by ignorant and thoughtless persons* to some of the best and soundest ministers of the Church,” because, by *such a class of people*, they may be applied to persons other than those actually described—for both parties agree that persons are to be found, of whom this is the right description—therefore Mr. Gorham is to come under the censure of the Bishop.

“Such an advertisement, besides encouraging (however unintentionally) party spirit, (which is little better than schismatical,) has a manifest tendency to bring offers from those who hold extreme opinions on the opposite side—a most unsound and dangerous set of men.—I wish you had been content to invite those only who avoid connecting themselves with any party.”

I do not at all object to that suggestion, if it would have answered the purpose; but I think we shall find it necessary to bestow a little further attention on the wording of this Letter, when we come to consider other Letters which the Bishop of Exeter has written.

At page 8 of the volume brought into court by the Bishop, there is a memorandum which shows the difficulty which Mr. Gorham must have had in finding a Curate possessing all the qualifications which the Bishop of Exeter required. One was to be rejected on this ground,

and another on that, till it became a matter of no small difficulty to find a gentleman precisely of the kind whom he could bring under the Bishop's notice with any reasonable prospect of acceptance. I call this to the attention of the Court, because I think it a little unfair to take the Letters of Mr. Gorham and comment upon them as has been done; when, after he had found a man who did answer this description, (excluding, as it necessarily did, a great many persons who would have been willing to accept the Curacy of St. Just,) he discovered that it was the Bishop's intention to examine him. That was startling information. The idea must have at once occurred to Mr. Gorham's mind—If the party whom I have laboured to find and now present to the Bishop be not approved by him, I shall have all this ground to go over again. This well accounts for much which has been objected to. But, without going further into that matter, it is sufficient to say that great difficulty was experienced in finding a person who would be at once suitable to Mr. Gorham and agreeable to the Bishop.

On the 23d of November, 1846, Mr. Gorham writes to the Bishop, saying:—

“I have at last succeeded in engaging the services of a valuable assistant, the Rev. Mr. A—, Master of Arts, of B— College, Cambridge. He is twenty-eight years of age, in Priest's Orders. I have given him my nomination, and have directed him to transmit it with his testimonials to Mr. Barnes, and to apply to your Lordship for a license.

“Mr. A— is a gentleman of good family, resident at C—. He took a very creditable degree at Cambridge in 1840, and is still a member of the Senate. I have more than the ordinary assurances from three Clergymen that he is a sound Churchman, and an active, pious minister.”

Mr. Gorham had taken a great deal of pains to find a

proper person; he had more than the ordinary assurance of three Clergymen to that effect.

"He has recently left a Curacy near D—, simply on account of its very slender stipend."

The answer of the Bishop of Exeter to this Letter is dated Nov. 25:—

"Dear Sir,—I am glad that you have obtained the assistance of a Clergyman, of whom you hope so well; but, as he is not personally known to you; nor, so far as your Letter states, the Clergymen who vouch to you for him; I feel it my duty to desire that he see me, in order that I may satisfy myself of the soundness of his views on the great points of Christian doctrine; especially on Baptism, the foundation of all."

Now, certainly, I do not at all deny the right of the Bishop to examine this Curate upon Baptism, or on any other point that he pleased; but there does seem to be no very necessary connexion between the fair fame of the "sound divines," to whom the Bishop alluded in his former Letter, and an Examination upon the doctrine of Baptism. We have not before heard one word about Baptism in any way. We have heard of Tractarian error, we have heard of a National Establishment; but as to Baptism, up to this period not one word had passed between the Bishop and Mr. Gorham in any way referring to it. This, however, seems to be a sort of crucible, into which the Bishop is to put every person who proposes to come into his Diocese. If he chooses to do so, I do not deny the right; but still it is a curious fact to come out in this way; there being no necessary connexion whatever between those "sound divines," who may be traduced by such an advertisement as that which Mr. Gorham inserted, and correct views on the point of Baptism. I am unable to state whether these "sound divines" hold any peculiar views on this matter or not; it is not for me to assert that

they do. All I know is, that it does seem to come upon us in a somewhat extraordinary way when viewed in connexion with the previous circumstances.—His Lordship goes on to say,—

“Before I receive a stranger into my Diocese, I must satisfy myself that he, on this point, agrees with the teaching of the Church in its Articles and Liturgy. And as Mr. A— lives in so remote a part of England, it may be desirable that he should be apprised of this, my expectation, before he undertakes so long a journey.”

Then follows the Letter, No. X., which has been adverted to, in which it is said Mr. Gorham deprecates an Examination. Sir, I put a totally different construction on this Letter from the one adopted by the Learned Counsel opposite. It is no denial of the right of the Bishop to examine, *quâ* right; but Mr. Gorham is denying the propriety of the Bishop exercising that right under the circumstances, and deprecating his doing so. That is the construction which I put upon the Letter. I shall not read it through, it is sufficient for my purpose to state that it is so; but still there is one point in the Letter which appears to me important.

“To my great surprise and alarm your Lordship intimates that he may be rejected,” (that is, the Curate,) “however sincere in his acceptance of the doctrines of the Articles and Liturgy, should he not assent to *that* interpretation of ‘the teaching of the Church, especially on Baptism,’ which your Lordship may affirm to be the true one.”

That seems to be the alarm raised in Mr. Gorham’s mind, namely, that the Bishop had some peculiar notions about Baptism, some hobby of his own, on that point of Divinity, something that he wanted to enforce upon every Clergyman in his Diocese; and, therefore, Mr. Gorham is beginning to take alarm. Here, he says, is a Clergyman having precisely the same views as myself, whom I have

obtained after great difficulty to meet the requirements of the Bishop, and if he is to undergo this test, I do not know what the event may be. It is the Letter of a person with that fear in his mind.

"I received from Mr. A— himself, a full statement of his views, '*especially on Baptism.*'"

I pray the Court's attention to that.—

"His doctrines are essentially those which I myself embrace."

That is Mr. Gorham's statement to the Bishop.

"If, therefore, *he* be rejected, I can have no hope that any other person will be accepted; for, of course, I cannot nominate any one whose views are materially different from my own."

In this Letter, then, there is a distinct announcement to the Bishop by Mr. Gorham, that the person whom he presented to him had generally the same views that Mr. Gorham himself entertained, particularly on the point of Baptism, for which reason he was desirous to have him as his Curate. There follows then a Letter written by the Bishop to this Curate, and announcing his intention to examine him. It is dated December 5th:—

"Reverend Sir,—I recognise with pleasure the candour which has induced you to state thus frankly your 'previous nautical life and nautical predilections,' as a possible disqualification for a Curacy in this Diocese.

"I must, in return, with equal frankness, avow, that without regarding them as an absolute *disqualification*, I cannot but look on them as not a recommendation for the spiritual care of a large population of Cornish miners, a class of men not only very acute and observant, but also deeply tinged with Dissent and hostility to the Church, and fond, I believe, of controversy.

"Therefore, under the circumstances of your case, especially taking into account the terms of an advertisement in a public newspaper"—

[In other words—Especially considering that you may be brought from among a very dangerous set of men—whom he had described in a former letter.—I presume that was his meaning.]

“on the invitation of which you have been advised to offer yourself for this Cure, I must request you to give me an opportunity of personal communication; in order that I may examine you on the soundness of your views of Christian doctrine; and, in particular, of Baptism, the foundation of all.”

Now the Bishop had been certified, before this Examination of the Curate, that Mr. Gorham's general views were those of the Curate; or rather, that the Curate's general views were those of Mr. Gorham, and that Mr. Gorham had taken pains to ascertain that.

However, when we come to Letter No. XII., we find, in the Bishop's handwriting, exactly what it was that brought on the breach between him and Mr. Gorham, and I take it in this place because it comes in the order of the Letters. It is dated December 5th, No. XII., p. 16.

“I trusted you till I found you, in a printed paper, indicating so low an opinion of the Church as to call it ‘*the National Establishment*,’ and advertising for an Assistant ‘*free from Tractarian error*.’”

Now then, Sir, we have, under the Bishop's own hand, these, stated as the two offences which first produced a breach between him and Mr. Gorham. The Bishop himself says, he trusted Mr. Gorham until he found him, in a printed paper, indicating so low an opinion of the Church as to call it ‘*the National Establishment*.’

It is an offence, then, in the Diocese of Exeter, for any clergyman to advertise, either for subscriptions to support the National Establishment, or for a Curate free from Tractarian error. That I understand to be the meaning of the Bishop of Exeter. I should have been sorry to attribute

this to him in argument, but here we have it in his own letter; and these letters, be it remembered, we did not bring into court. We should never have troubled the Court with them: the Bishop of Exeter himself brings them in. He challenges an examination of them all. There is no doubt, therefore, that this letter, which I have just quoted, came from the Bishop of Exeter; it is thus subscribed:—

“I am, Rev. Sir, with sincere regret and pain in so subscribing myself, your grieved and offended Overseer in the Lord—H. EXETER.

Then comes a Letter from Mr. Gorham to the Bishop of Exeter, No. XIII., dated January 28th, in which he says—

“The License having now been granted”—and so on.

I only quote that sentence to show that the License for the Curate was granted. Mr. Gorham had said, I must have a man of like views with myself, and it has been exceedingly difficult to find one; but I have at last found one who corresponds with the particulars you require, and one who agrees with me on the point of Baptism. I have ascertained that he holds the same general views with myself. The Bishop *examines him; he licenses him*; and it is not pretended that there was then any reason to complain, either of Mr. Gorham or of his Curate, on the ground of their holding unsound views. Indeed, the Bishop does not intimate anything of the kind.

We now come to Mr. Gorham's being presented to the Living of Brampford Speke. He required for this purpose a testimonial, and we have three beneficed Clergymen of the Diocese of Exeter signing this testimonial, and stating:—

“We have had opportunities of observing his conduct; that during the whole of that time we verily believe that he lived piously, soberly, and honestly; nor have we at any time heard anything to the contrary thereof; nor hath

he at any time, as far as we know or believe, held, written, or taught anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the United Church of England and Ireland."

This is sent to the Bishop for his counter-signature, and what does the Bishop say?

"The Clergymen who have subscribed this testimonial are highly respectable."

I have, therefore, the Bishop's own authority for the assertion that these are three highly respectable Beneficed Clergymen, in his own Diocese, testifying in favour of Mr. Gorham. In connexion with this, the Bishop adds:—

"But, as I consider the Bishop's counter-signature of such a document, if it be unaccompanied by any remark, as implying his own belief that the party to whom it relates 'has not held, written, or taught anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the United Church of England and Ireland,' and as my own experience unfortunately attests"—

Not that he had received information against Mr. Gorham from any quarter. Whatever the Bishop of Exeter himself may have fancied he perceived, there is not a word to show that any other person ever found fault with Mr. Gorham, or said a word in his dispraise. His Lordship says:—

"As my own experience unfortunately attests that the Rev. George Cornelius Gorham did, in the course of last year, in correspondence with myself"—(referring, therefore, to the Correspondence which is before the Court)—"in correspondence with myself, hold, write, and maintain what is contrary to the discipline of the said Church"—

The Counsel on the other side have endeavoured to justify this extraordinary proceeding, by putting a forced construction on Mr. Gorham's former letters, as if he was seriously denying the right of the Bishop to examine a stipendiary Curate. But this is, I contend, a forced con-

struction. Mr. Gorham must have known that a Curate cannot exercise his ministry, except by the license of the Bishop. If the Bishop has to license him, he must, necessarily, have a right to ascertain that the person whom he licenses is a fit and proper person. The straightforward view of the whole matter, as clear as daylight, is, I submit, this, and it is impossible to come to any other conclusion; that it was the exercise of the Bishop's right under the particular circumstances, and not the right itself, which was adverted to in Mr. Gorham's letters. His Lordship adds:—

“And as what he further wrote makes me apprehend that he holds also what is contrary to its doctrine, I cannot conscientiously countersign this testimonial.”

I in vain listened, I painfully listened, to all parts of the address made by the Counsel opposite, in order to see whether a tittle of evidence could be adduced to support this statement; whether there was anything in the previous correspondence to lead the Bishop to apprehend that Mr. Gorham held *any* doctrine contrary to that of the Church of England. Why, Sir, I do not find so much as even an allusion to doctrine throughout the correspondence. It is mere suspicion; and, unless it is to be gathered out of the advertisement about Tractarian errors, I know of nothing that could have given origin to it. There could be, and there was, nothing more than mere vague suspicion in the Bishop's mind, acting upon which he thought it right to adopt the expedient to which he had recourse.

I do not intend to dwell upon these Letters, further than to bring the history fairly before the Court, for that I think is important. There is one at p. 38, which shows distinctly what it was to which Mr. Gorham objected. He says:—

“Whether ‘I have held what is contrary to its DOCTRINE,’ when I avowed to your Lordship that on my

admission, thirty-six years ago, to Holy Orders, I declined (as I would still decline) to submit to a similarly *private* test of doctrine with which the ordaining Bishop desired to fetter myself?"

In his own case, therefore, he is speaking of a disinclination to a particular test being applied to him in the Examination; and, therefore, as I said before, he never contested the right of the Bishop to examine; but he did contest that which he supposed, whether rightly or wrongly, would be taken as the point for Examination, and the test of sound or unsound doctrine, considering the circumstances under which the Examination was made.

Having thus gone through the Correspondence before the Court, I am entitled to say that Mr. Gorham's only offences were, first, that he called the Church of England a "National Establishment," and secondly, that he advertised for a Curate "free from all tendency to Tractarian error;" and being then presented to the Vicarage of Brampford Speke, we find the Bishop deeming it right, by reason of some vague suspicion in his mind, first to affix what appears, in his own handwriting, to the testimonials; and then to examine Mr. Gorham, not for one or two days, on doctrinal subjects generally, or on any one particular doctrine (because, as I shall show presently, that is not the case); but to select an extreme point connected with the Doctrine of Baptism, and examine him upon it, extending the Examination to the frightful length of fourteen days, and 149 questions; and then, because Mr. Gorham does not adopt the same mode of resolving the difficulty which the Bishop does, he is refused institution to the Living.

I have already stated to the Court, that all the objections taken to Mr. Gorham's views are found in the record of the first five days' examination; which, indeed, might not unreasonably be expected; for in those five days, no less, I think, than thirty-eight hours and a half

were occupied upon the one extreme point to which the whole pressure of this extraordinary Examination was confined. On the first three days, twenty-seven hours were thus consumed. Nor can I forbear to mention, that on the second of them the Examination was continued till half-past eleven at night, and that the night of Saturday; with respect to which I need say no more.

As to understanding Mr. Gorham's views upon the general doctrine of Baptism from what is contained in this Examination, it is impossible; because, as I have said, he is questioned on an extreme point, and driven to answer upon that exclusively, without any opportunity of *general* explanation: for when he attempts to enter upon the subject generally, he is stopped with the objection, "You are mixing up the other Sacrament with this, not answering the question; apply yourself to the point." That is the way, and the very unfair way, in which the Examination was conducted. But in immediate connexion with what I have remarked, that the whole of the objected passages in the Examination have been taken from that of the first five days, I beg to notice a passage which is, I think, worthy of the attention of the Court. At p. 113, the commencement of the fourth day's Examination, we find the following conversation recorded:—

"MR. GORHAM.—Your Lordship having stated yesterday evening, that the continuance or discontinuance of this Examination depended on my avowing or disavowing my intention (—which you said you apprehended I entertained—) to lay it before the world, of which intention I had not given the most distant hint; and on my declining to say anything on that point, your Lordship having thereupon said, that 'you should deem it your duty to resume your questions,' I respectfully submit to my Bishop the following considerations."

* * * * *

"THE BISHOP.—I have no hesitation in saying, that my

reason for asking whether Mr. Gorham intends to publish what has passed in this Examination, and for my stating that if there be such intention, or if the intention be not disclaimed, I must continue the Examination, is this—that the matter is not sufficiently investigated to enable me, in that case, to take the course which I may be now prepared otherwise to take, without my seeming to have forborne to place before Mr. Gorham several considerations which ought, in my judgment, to be weighed and answered by him.”

Now, certainly, one would have thought that what the Bishop here meant was, in effect, that he was prepared to refuse Institution to the Living; and being so prepared, wished to set before Mr. Gorham some other suggestions or considerations, to which, if the whole was to be made public, he considered that Mr. Gorham’s attention ought to be directed: that he was, in fact, studiously avoiding to take advantage of any trip that might have been made in the course of the Examination. But any such idea of his meaning would be altogether a mistake. The Bishop, as I will immediately show, did not contemplate anything of the kind; for after the close of the fifth day’s Examination, the Bishop wrote a letter, dated “December 27, 1847:—

“Rev. Sir,—Your packet not having been sent to me until the evening of Christmas-day, and yesterday having been Sunday, you will not be surprised at my not having opened it till this morning.

“I now acknowledge the receipt of a paper, entitled, ‘MEMORANDUM, *Torquay, Friday, Christmas-eve, 1847.*’

“To the request, that I will give you leave to make additions to certain of your answers there specified, I fully assent; but you must bear in mind, that in making those additions you may thereby call forth other questions.

“To what you say of my avowed reason for continuing the Examination on the fourth and subsequent days, namely, that I had the impression of your intention to

publish what had passed, or what might pass, I answer ;— that I hoped to bring the Examination to a close in a manner favourable to you, on your making (as I expected that you would make) some general qualification of your statements."

I say, then, at the end of eight-and-thirty hours' examination; after all these questions had been answered, the replies to which we have heard characterized as being in the teeth of the doctrines of the Church of England; which have been said to display a rancorous spirit of Dissent, and to place Mr. Gorham amongst a host of persons who have departed from the Church; and with reference to which it is said, if Mr. Gorham had been an honest man, he ought to have done the same; with a comment of an hour and a half on Mr. Noel's recent publication, with which Mr. Gorham has no more to do than the man in the moon,—here is the Bishop's own declaration, that if Mr. Gorham had made some general qualification of his statements, he would have terminated the Examination favourably to him on the fifth day.

I cannot, and I will not, impute to the Bishop of Exeter that he was seeking to enter into any compromise with Mr. Gorham. I will not believe that he was willing to place himself in that humiliating position: but I am sure that what I have now read to the Court shows, at least, that at the close of the fifth day's Examination, when the Bishop had before him, in all their freshness, every one of those passages in Mr. Gorham's Examination which his Lordship's Counsel have denounced, as being in the teeth of the doctrine of the Church of England; and on which alone they have endeavoured to justify his Lordship's refusal to institute Mr. Gorham; a very different view of them was taken by the Bishop himself. I cannot and will not believe, that if the description now given of Mr. Gorham's doctrine were the true one, a Bishop of this, or of any land, would have written such a letter as I

have now quoted to the Court. It shows that a very different view was taken of the case by the Bishop of Exeter from that which his Counsel have argued in this Court. I cannot for one moment believe, that in the opinion of the Bishop, Mr. Gorham's sentiments were of the character which has been attributed to them. There might be some difference between the Bishop's views and Mr. Gorham's, and the Bishop might have wished to press Mr. Gorham with what appeared to him to be difficulties lying in the way of his mode of interpretation; but that was all, and the Bishop of Exeter's letter proves it to have been so.

I have not yet done with this letter.—There is rather a startling paragraph at the end, to which I call the Court's particular attention, because it affords a key to the whole case:—

“In answer to your observation, that Examination in such cases is unprecedented during ‘nearly two centuries and a half,’ I state, I have myself been in the habit of exercising the right, whenever I deemed it necessary, both before giving Institution and before granting license; and that I deemed it necessary to examine you”—

Why! Because you hold unsound doctrine? Because you are reported to hold unsound doctrine? Because I suspected you of holding unsound doctrine? No; but—
 “BY REASON OF YOUR HAVING CHARACTERISED MY PURPOSE OF EXAMINING YOUR ASSISTANT, FROM THE DIOCESE OF CARLISLE, AS AN ‘ASSUMED POWER,’ AND EVEN AS AN ATTEMPT TO SET UP ‘A PRIVATE STANDARD OF DOCTRINE.’”

That is the reason of the Examination; and here, I say, we have the explanation of it furnished under the Bishop's own hand.

A Clerk displeases a Bishop, and the Bishop has recourse, in due time, to this singular method of gratifying his latent and cherished feeling. It is a private

pique on the part of an "offended Bishop," not a jealousy for the purity of Doctrine. *That* I say, on the authority of a letter under the Bishop's own hand, brought by himself into this Court.

And I might leave it without further remark,—but that I must call the attention of the Court to what Mr. Gorham says at p. 148, namely, his entire disclaimer of any intention to question the Bishop's right of Examination generally. He there says:—

"I have affirmed, in my REMONSTRANCE, that from the reign of James I., Examination of Beneficed Clerks partially exercised, without just suspicion of morals, capacity, or doctrine, is 'unprecedented.' To *my* mind, I confess, the reply is unsatisfactory—that precedents exist in your Lordship's *own* rule of your *own* Diocese, and in your *own* 'exercise of the right whenever you deemed it necessary.' That you have ever exercised it in the way against which I have remonstrated, or in any case in the slightest degree resembling mine, does not yet appear. I am aware, indeed, of one case of incapacity, which (being an instance of discreet and wise application of the Canon) *confirms* my statement. I know of no instance which *weakens* it. The Examination and exclusion of Stipendiary, or even Perpetual, Curates in this Diocese on the subject of Baptism, is lamentably notorious; but it is a precedent not to the point. The Examination of Beneficed Clergymen, and especially of Ministers of long experience and established reputation (*—except as above excepted—*), I hope is *rare*; and such an unreasonable one as mine, is, I still affirm, without parallel in the annals of our Protestant Church, and will never, I venture to predict, be repeated."

I quote this passage, because it is an answer to what has been advanced, namely, that Mr. Gorham must have known that he would be examined, because he had denied the Bishop's right of Examination. Were it otherwise, it

has nothing to do with the question before the Court; but it shows, beyond contradiction, that Mr. Gorham is right in his denial of what is charged, viz.—that he had contested the Bishop's right of Examination generally. He says that he wrote *alio intuitu*; and I say, not only that the circumstances, taken together, prove him to be correct in that assertion; but further, that in the ordinary intercourse of civilized life, it is not usual to endeavour to fasten upon any man's words (even were they more ambiguous than in this instance they are) a meaning which the writer of them has distinctly and repeatedly disclaimed.

I must shortly advert to one or two comments which have been made on the Introduction to Mr. Gorham's book. Now, supposing Mr. Gorham to be wrong in one of his statements, viz., in respect to the right of Episcopal Examinations after the expiration of twenty-eight days;—what then? Supposing Mr. Gorham's view of the law on the point to be as erroneous as the Bishop of Exeter's view of the law as laid down in his last Charge; which, with all deference to him, it undoubtedly is, as to the Articles not being the legal standard of doctrine;—what then? Mr. Gorham is wrong on one point in his Introduction; the Bishop of Exeter is wrong on another point in his Charge; and, with the Court's permission, I will leave them to pair off.

Another attack made on Mr. Gorham is in reference to his statement, that the point at issue between the Bishop and himself is the unconditional efficacy of the Sacrament of Baptism. Now, supposing Mr. Gorham to be mistaken as to the doctrine which the Bishop does maintain, he had only the Bishop's 149 questions to guide him; and, in Mr. Gorham's view of the subject, Adult and Infant Baptism cannot be separated; so that, in order to arrive at any conclusion as to Infant Baptism, Mr. Gorham takes into consideration the case of adults also. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of surprise, still less of

censure, that he should have arrived at such a conclusion; and, if the Bishop of Exeter is thus to be defended by bringing a serious accusation against Mr. Gorham; it would have been as well had his Lordship written more carefully, and expressed himself with a little more accuracy, than he has done in the copy of his Charge now before me. I should not have adverted to the Bishop's Charge for a moment—I would not have alluded to it—for it is not regularly before the Court in any way; but that it has been quoted over and over again in order to heap accusations upon Mr. Gorham, and I have a right, therefore, to refer to it, as I now will do, to show that the statements of Mr. Gorham, which have been objected to, are not so unfounded and unwarranted as they have been represented to be. What will the Court think, after the reiterated avowals made by his Counsel: after having instructed both his Counsel to stand up, and in a most solemn manner declare, that the Bishop did not hold that regeneration was conferred in every instance: that in respect to Adults it was conditional, though with regard to Infants it was to be viewed in a different way; (for we have had this statement repeated, *usque ad nauseam*;) what, I say, will the Court think of the following passage in the Bishop's last Charge? At page 12, speaking of regeneration and its consequences, he says, without limitation or exception of any kind:—

“All these blessed effects are wrought by God in Baptism, according as the sus-cipients are capable of them: some and the greatest, namely, ‘the being grafted into the Church,’ which is the ‘body of Christ,’ ‘the forgiveness of sin, and adoption to be sons of God,’ in all and every age, Infant or Adult, for all are capable of these: the ‘confirmation of faith, and the increase of grace,’ are wrought in adults.”

Wrought in all of every age—infant and adult,—I put it to the Court, and to every individual who can

read, to say, if this does not assert, in the most unlimited terms, regeneration in respect to every one—infant and adult alike—who presents himself, or is presented, for Baptism.

I am quite willing that the Bishop of Exeter should retract this; and I do not mean to deny that in a subsequent part of the Charge there are passages that look as if he did not mean to adhere to it. But I say, and I insist, that, where we have a statement made in the unguarded terms which I have read to the Court, it ought not to be treated as an offence on the part of Mr. Gorham that he has taken a view of the doctrine held by the Bishop of Exeter, not quite compatible with those lofty and indignant denials with which we have been favoured. I say that it might be fairly and honestly inferred by any man from the passage which I have quoted, that the Bishop does hold regeneration to be absolutely tied to Baptism without any distinction of age whatever.

There remains yet another and somewhat singular charge against Mr. Gorham, which I may as well dispose of at once. It applies to the point of scholarship. "Oh!" says the Learned Counsel, "he is as ignorant of Latin as he is of Divinity. He actually translates *concipit unda Deum*, 'Water conceives God;' that is his translation." The Learned Counsel added, that *receives* is the proper and acknowledged meaning of the word, and the translation which ought to have been adopted. Sir, the lines were read, and I will read them again. They are these:—

" Sanctus in hunc cœlo descendit Spiritus amnem,
Cœlesti-que sacras fonte maritat aquas,
Concipit unda Deum sanctam-que liquoribus almis,
Edit ab eterno semine progeniem."

"*concipit unda Deum*," "Water *receives* God." Without affecting any refined perfection of scholarship, I can only say, that I should not wish to advise any young gentleman

in whose personal comfort I took an interest, to hazard the proposed translation at one of our public schools. The line does not require it. There was no necessity for the poetical Bishop's going out of his way when the common word *accipit* was at hand, and would have answered his purpose just as well. If, as Mr. Gorham has done, the Counsel for the Bishop had looked into the poem of "Paulinus" for himself, he would have spared his mistaken ridicule; for Baptism is there treated of after the monstrous notion of the Schoolmen under marital and conjugal figures. And, in the very volume of Dr. Waterland (who, by the way, is a stock authority for the Bishop of Exeter), which the Learned Counsel had in his hand, (vol. iv. p. 430), a passage occurs which confirms Mr. Gorham:—"Hence it was that the ancient Doctors of Churches, in explaining this Article, were wont to consider the Spirit and the Water under the lively emblem of a conjugal union as the two parents; and the new-born Christian as the offspring of both."

Here, then, Sir, I may safely leave the question of scholarship. I have an impression, not only that Mr. Gorham is competent to the translation "of three words of Latin;" but that his attainments, as a classical scholar, are of a character to sustain any assault that is likely to be made upon them by the Advocate of the Bishop of Exeter, or by the Bishop himself.

I come now, Sir, to a statement which certainly struck my mind as being not a little curious. The subject-matter of this Examination was said to be so plain, so clear, so simple, and straightforward, that it was quite wonderful how Mr. Gorham should have protracted the Examination as he did.

It was said by the Bishop of Exeter in his Charge; and it has been repeated by his Counsel in this Court; that for 1500 years before the Reformation, and for 150 years after it, there had been no controversy in the Church

on this question of Infant Baptism—no difference, it was said, between us, or even the German Protestants, and Rome—in fact, the voice of controversy was unheard upon it. Now, Sir, I shall take the liberty of showing, in direct contradiction to these averments, that the question is one which never was settled at all, even in the Church of Rome, until the Council of Trent. Till then it was a *quæstio vexata*; and it was only on that occasion; when so many difficulties were cut short, and so many dogmas laid down, on matters which had been previously left open; that the question of Infant Baptism was settled at all. By and by I shall have more to say on the difference of opinion which existed even in the infallible Church of Rome on this difficult subject.

I must, however, first call the attention of the Court to what is the real question before it, because the subject appears to me to be most intricate, and it is ground which is as yet untrodden.

The precise question at issue has never yet been clearly presented to the Court. What I, therefore, now desire to do, is to show distinctly, from the sequence of the questions, (I have nothing else to guide me) to what point the Examination tended; and I think I shall be able to show, that it would be quite unfair by Mr. Gorham, or any other Clerk, to conclude from the result of such an Examination as this, that the Court is, or by possibility could be, in possession of his tenets in respect to the general doctrine of Baptism, either Infant or Adult.

No opportunity of stating Mr. Gorham's general tenets was afforded him, except in the answers to the fifth, sixth, and seventh questions, to which I shall presently advert; and which form a kind of platform, not made such (as asserted on the other side) by Mr. Gorham, but a platform erected by the Bishop, whereon to conduct the rest of the Examination; the whole of which was occupied by an endeavour to remove Mr. Gorham from

the ground he had there chosen—to probe the principles on which he founded the answers to those three questions, and drive him from the conclusion at which he had arrived.

The Bishop, I repeat it, chose the ground, and made *Infant Regeneration unconditionally* the single point, to which, as I shall show from the sequence of the questions, the whole Examination tended.

The first question proposed by the Bishop is in these words:—"Prove from Scripture that Baptism and the Supper of the Lord are *severally* necessary to salvation." It is said that Mr. Gorham's answer to this was contumacious. I deny that it was so: and I say that, on the Bishop's own showing, Mr. Gorham was right in demurring to the question as not being sufficiently limited; for what does the Bishop do? He amends the question thus: "Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that Baptism and the Supper of the Lord are generally necessary to salvation,—in terms as absolute as *this* proposition?" The word *generally* is substituted for *severally*, which before had been inaccurately used—accidentally, indeed, for I impute no more than that to his Lordship; but it was an inaccuracy, and he corrected it.—So the Examination started.

When the question was properly worded, Mr. Gorham answered without scruple in a straightforward manner:—"Our Church does hold this doctrine, and I hold it, of course." Surely there is no contumacy *here*. I must pray the attention of the Court to it, because, in like manner, when *any* question is proposed, not involving points of difficulty, with which are connected a variety of considerations not apparent on the surface, we find it answered in like manner throughout.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh questions, to which I have already adverted, are as follows:—Question 5. "Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that every infant baptized

by a lawful minister, with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is made by God, in such Baptism, a member of Christ, the Child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven?

“Question 6. Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that such children, by the laver of regeneration in Baptism, are received into the number of the children of God; and heirs of everlasting life?”

“Question 7. Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that all infants, so baptized, are born again of water and of the Holy Ghost?”

Infant baptism, then, being the point to which these questions are confined, the Bishop begins the Examination unfairly, as I submit, by excluding that from which we reason inferentially to the point at issue; and the mode of reply adopted by Mr. Gorham is properly, if not necessarily, this, viz., he sets forth with great clearness his views of *Baptism generally*, as far as he could do so without going into matter irrelevant to the questions themselves; thereby laying down and defining his position as to *that*, and then he comes inferentially to the case proposed.

The Examination proceeds really as though it were the object of the Bishop to make as difficult as possible what is admitted on all hands to be difficult in itself; for he adopts a transition from one subject to another with a manifest view to push the Clerk into a corner by an extreme case.

The fifth Question, as already quoted, is taken, as the Court sees, from the Service of Public Baptism of Infants—the sixth from that of Private Baptism, which is not an ordinary case, and, therefore, not fairly brought forward in this way. That, however, is not sufficient for the Bishop, as it does not extract what he wished to obtain from Mr. Gorham.

The subject of inquiry is, therefore, narrowed still

further by Question 11, where Mr. Gorham is asked, if it be necessary that Infants have Faith at the time of being baptized in order that the Baptism may be effectual? Question 15 draws the matter to a still smaller compass—by this form of inquiry—"Not taking into account what it may have pleased God to give to any infants before Baptism," &c. By Questions 18 and 19 it is confined still more closely to private Baptism, and the case of infants who have not entered into stipulations by their representatives. In Questions 20—24 the Bishop tries to catch Mr. Gorham tripping on the word "sign;" and in a further Question (32) the subject of inquiry is whether *Sacraments* are effectual, irrespective of any qualification in the recipient of them.

The sequence of the Questions is this:—

- "1. Public Baptism of Infants.
- "2. Private Baptism of Infants.
- "3. Baptism of Infants without previous stipulation on their behalf.
- "4. The Baptism of Infants excluding any possible previous qualifications."

Issuing, as I have said, in the unqualified Spiritual Regeneration of all Infants by the act of Baptism itself, which alone can meet the question and the point at which the Bishop aims, and to which the inquiry is pressed.

Yet there still remains one other difficulty behind, which might involve the holders of that Doctrine in some perplexity.

The Bishop, it will be seen, framed his question with a view to Baptism as "lawfully administered," meaning, no doubt, by Ministers lawfully ordained. But the Church of England holds the validity of Baptism by other hands. Whether the Bishop's question was *thus* framed with a view to make it more easy to Mr. Gorham or not, the difficulty, as I have said, still remains behind. How are such questions to be answered as to the efficacy of

Baptism administered, not by Clergymen ordained in Apostolical Succession, but by the hands of Dissenting Ministers, or any other description of Laymen?

I do not say of this course of Examination that it was absolutely improper; but I do say, that suggesting cases the most extreme, and putting questions the most difficult that can be devised, is not a method calculated to ascertain what any Clerk really holds on the subject of Baptismal Regeneration, or by which opinions on that difficult subject can be fairly tested.

I know not how such questions are to be answered at all without resorting to those general principles which belong to the subject, and so applying the principle laid down in the Articles to the particular cases to which the Baptismal Services were adapted. It is quite unfair, therefore, to say on this Examination that Mr. Gorham's views of Baptism generally had been stated. He did not say, he never has said, that no grace is given in Baptism. Regeneration, he says, (at page 71,) may be *in* Baptism, *before* Baptism, or *after* Baptism. That is his position.—The Court will find how he states it in answer to Question 59:—"But with a wish to state my view so as to satisfy your Lordship that you understand what I really hold (—for I have no reserve on my mind—), I here add:—that the Church holds, and I hold, that the worthy reception here [*i.e.*, in Question 59] recognised implies 'Faith,' (see Article XXVII., and see the requirements from the sponsors in the Baptismal Service); but, as the stipulation of 'Faith' goes before Baptism, and as the condition of being 'the Child of God' is a blessing conferred by 'Faith,' (John i. 12, 13; Gal. iii. 26),—hence the blessing of 'adoption' also precedes Baptism, in its essence; but it is declared, attested, and manifested by the Sacrament, as [ordained to be] a Seal or Sign of the gift; which I maintain to be a very different proposition from this other, namely,—that the blessing of Regeneration, or Adoption,

to be a member of the family of God, is to be ascribed to Baptism.

"I will illustrate what I mean, by adducing the Baptism of the Divine Founder of that Sacrament. Our Lord was the Son of God, in fact, in the essential character and nature of that relation to him, before Baptism; but when he submitted to that sign he was manifested, attested, Divinely proclaimed, to be his 'Beloved Son;' 'Made' (in such a sense) the Son of God by the affusion of water. In plain words, his Sonship must not be ascribed to that sign, but it was 'in and by' that sign solemnly attested. And this I conceive to be a fair (though I do not say it is a perfect) illustration of the way in which each of His disciples is 'made the child of God' (—worthy reception being all along taken for granted—), 'in and by Baptism.'"

He was required to reply to subtleties: scarcely an opportunity was afforded of stating anything like a general view of the subject. Yet when, as in Questions 37 and 38, an opportunity *is* given (and they are the only questions throughout the Examination that came fairly to the point); he answers distinctly, admitting that when the qualification stated in the Articles exists, the grace is given in Baptism.

Question 37 is as follows:—"Taking your meaning to be so, I ask whether the Sacraments are, in the case of those who receive them worthily, effectual signs of grace, by the which God doth work invisibly in us?"

The answer is clear, explicit, unhesitating, "THEY ARE." In like manner to the next question, 38: "In the case of those who receive Baptism worthily, is there any, and if any, what special grace which 'God doth work invisibly in us' by Baptism, as the 'effectual sign' thereof?" He answers, "There is. By this sign and visible symbol of his grace, he sets his seal to his 'promises of forgiveness of sins, and of our adoption to

be his sons; he 'confirms' the 'faith' which he had previously implanted in us, and by which he made us 'rightly' to receive this Sacrament; and he 'increases' the 'grace' which he had previously given us; he does all this by 'virtue of prayer,' for which he has bestowed the disposition."

Is this denying the grace of God in Baptism, either to Infant or Adult? In the whole Examination the question was never raised. And, to say of Mr. Gorham, after reading these Answers, that he holds no grace to be conferred by Baptism, is impossible. The difference between the Bishop and Mr. Gorham is in regard to "worthy recipients." Mr. Gorham says, that to be a partaker of the grace of Baptism, it is necessary to be a worthy receiver of that Sacrament. The Bishop then tries to bring him to the position that every infant is necessarily a worthy recipient. We have it attempted over and over again; but Mr. Gorham declines to follow so far, and why? Because the Article is silent on the subject. He does not deny that where it can be predicated of an infant, the blessing follows; he only declines to apply the proposition necessarily and universally. Mr. Gorham does not say, he never has said, that Baptism is a mere badge, or outward profession. He would predicate through Baptism all the blessings that can be claimed by the Bishop of Exeter, or any other man: the only question is, to whom? The Bishop says, to all infants necessarily: Mr. Gorham says, I cannot go so far as that; as far as I can go, I will; where the Church is silent, I give no opinion; I take the Article, and I stand upon it. When driven to an extreme point, where there is no light, all I can say is, To enjoy the benefit of any Sacrament, the partakers must be worthy recipients; if you can predicate that of infants, the case is resolved; and there he leaves it: and in so doing he leaves it where, as I submit, the Scriptures and the

Church of England leave it. I shall have something more to say on the point when I come to consider the structure of the services, and the Catechism; in the mean time thus far, at least, we are agreed—it is admitted that the Church of England has not resolved the question pointedly and plainly; no passage has been produced or can be referred to to show that she has; and all that Mr. Gorham says is, I take my stand on the Articles, and will not be driven from that position; I will not determine more than the standard of my Church has laid down as her doctrine. And he had a right so to say.

It is said that the Articles are silent, and that being so, you must ascertain the doctrine of the Church from the language of her formularies. I am very far from admitting that the Articles are silent to the extent that appears to be, and must be, held on the other side, to make good the charge against Mr. Gorham: but admitting that they were, it can only be established inferentially; and the phraseology of services must be open to a much greater latitude of interpretation on either side than the precise and dogmatical language of Articles, framed for the express purpose of defining and declaring truth. In three of the Articles, as has been repeatedly observed, and as must be always remembered, it is expressly declared, that worthy recipiency is necessary for the enjoyment of the special grace of the Sacraments. This, I say, affords a clew, and is a guide to the right interpretation of the Services; and I shall endeavour to show presently, by a brief examination of these Services, that they cannot otherwise be rightly understood. But it may be proper, before I advance further, that I should make a passing observation on the Scriptures, and what we find therein, in relation to this subject; because our Church unquestionably holds the authority of the Scriptures as paramount; and I apprehend that it would be no very

easy matter to establish a charge of unsoundness in doctrine which could not be shown to be contrary to the Word of God.

We all know that it was a question that could scarcely be raised in earlier ages, because in the time of the New Testament writings, the greater number of those baptized must necessarily have been adults. Adult Baptism, therefore, was constantly before the eyes of the Church at that period. We gather, indeed, from Scripture, traces of Infant Baptism; we may infer, and we do justly, that infants were then baptized; and no one pretends to gather more. No author that has ever written has pretended to make from Scripture any statement with regard to Infant Baptism as distinct from that of Adults. The state of society has long been different, and in consequence of the extension of Christianity, the far greater number are now baptized in Infancy. But the Church of England, which bases herself on Scripture, unlike the Church of Rome, has forborne to be dogmatical where the language of Scripture is not plain, and the light of the New Testament does not shine clearly upon her path.

From both, then; from the Scripture and the language of the Church of England, we are compelled to argue inferentially; and so Mr. Gorham did, and, as I submit, rightly, on this Examination.

If I forbear to quote passages from Scripture, and raise the argument which indisputably arises upon the tenor of Holy Writ, in perfect harmony with the doctrines of the Church, as explained by Mr. Gorham; it is not because I assent in any degree to the strange statement made by the Counsel for the Bishop of Exeter, that without tradition we should lose three-fourths of our religion. Maintaining, as I do, the sufficiency of Scripture alone, as expressed in the Sixth Article of our Church, I say, it is not because I would assent to or tolerate this unbecoming though easy method of putting aside both Scripture

and the Articles; but simply, as the Court will find in the sequel, because the quotations which I shall bring before it, from many writers, will show, how every position and argument of the Reformers was based on Holy Writ, and established and illustrated by a perpetual reference to the Word of God. Sir, I have already alluded to that which I fear not to say is the explanation of the difference unhappily existing on the present subject: it is as simple as it is sure. The Church of England, resting all her authority in doctrine upon the Holy Scriptures, is not dogmatical where Scripture is not plain. She not only does not assert, she expressly repudiates, all such independent claim to authority in matters of faith. The Church of Rome, on the contrary, holding fast to tradition, maintains her right to dogmatize, though Scripture be silent. Of her, indeed, it may be truly said, as was affirmed, by the Counsel for the Bishop, of our own Church (I hope without any sanction from his Lordship), that if you take away tradition, three-fourths of her religion are gone. The true Minister and Member of the Church of England, imbibing the spirit, will also tread in the steps, of the Church in which he ministers, and to which he belongs.

I now proceed to call the attention of the Court to the structure of the Services of the Church in reference to the effects of Baptism.

The first to which I shall advert is the Public Baptism of Infants. The Court will remember that a great deal was said about the Church of England holding all infants to be worthy recipients. Dr. Addams stated that over and over again as the doctrine of the Church of England, and I desire to know how it is established, for no light has been given us upon it. All the public Services for Infant Baptism, together with the Catechism, are directly opposed to it; we have nothing but bare assertion in its support. The Service to which I am now about to advert begins thus:—

“Dearly beloved: forasmuch as all men are conceived and born *in sin*.”—That, I presume, is not intended to make them worthy recipients; and if so, it is rather a strange thing to be told that *all infants* are held by the Church of England to be necessarily worthy recipients of Baptism: but this by the way. The words I have just read are the beginning of an exhortation to the persons assembled, preparing them for the part they have to bear in the Service; for, as I shall shew to the Court, they have a most important part in it, one which has not yet been touched upon at all. They are, therefore, thus exhorted in order to draw their attention to the holy rite in which they are about to be engaged; and that they may be in a proper state of mind to discharge their duties in respect to it. Then follows the prayer in which occur words to which I beg particular attention, viz., “the *mystical* washing away of sin.” Why is the word “*mystical*” inserted? Why should it not have been, “Didst sanctify the *element* of water, to the washing away of sin:” manifestly to show that the subject was to be considered *sacramentally*, that more was to be taken into the account than the idea, simple and unqualified, of washing away sin. It is to be considered in a sacramental point of view; that is the reason why the word “*mystical*” is found in this first prayer of the Service. And that word affords a guide to the right understanding of the whole throughout. Without reading at length the several parts of a Service with which we are all familiar, I content myself with just observing upon it; that, as the Court perceives, there is, first, an address to the congregation present, directing their attention to the Service in which they are engaged; then a prayer put into their mouths for a blessing upon the outward act; and a second prayer, “that the Infant coming to Baptism may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration;” then follows the

Gospel, from which we learn the ground on which infants are brought to be baptized. It is this:—

“They brought young children to Christ, that he should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them,” &c.

The Court will find over and over again, in the sequel, that the earliest writers, and our Reformers uniformly, state the reason why infants are brought to be baptized to be this, viz., that they already belong to the people of God; that they already form part of the faithful, where the parents are Christians, inasmuch as a man's children are part of himself. This Gospel teaches *that*, because it speaks of the favour and the regard which God has towards these infants, of his readiness to receive them when they are brought to him. Then, in the exhortation following, the congregation are still addressed, and are exhorted not to doubt, but earnestly to believe, that our Saviour Christ will favourably receive the infant, embrace him with the arms of his mercy, give to him the blessing of eternal life, and make him a partaker of his everlasting kingdom. There next follows a thanksgiving on the part of the people, that it has pleased God to call *them* to the knowledge of his grace and faith in Him, accompanied by a prayer for the increase of that knowledge and confirmation of that faith.

The congregation next pray that the infant about to be baptized may be brought to their own condition, in words of which these are part, viz.: “Give thy *Holy Spirit* to this infant, that he may be born again, and be made an heir of everlasting salvation.” Then comes the Address to the Sponsors, which is so important in its bearing on the view which I am now urging on the attention of the Court, that, but for the reason just stated, I should read it at length. It is, in effect, “Ye have prayed; ye have listened to the promises in the Gospel; but that is not

enough; for the infant **MUST** now also promise by you, his sureties, that he *will* renounce the devil; that he will constantly believe God's Holy Word, and that he will obediently keep his commandments."

Thus, the Court sees that the *ordinary* way in which the Church provides for the Baptism of Infants (because private Baptism is a provision for extraordinary cases, cases of necessity, altogether out of the ordinary course) is this—first, by exhortation to all present, bringing before them certain promises, calling upon them not to doubt, but to believe that those promises will be fulfilled; to join in prayer that they may be fulfilled, and to give thanks that they are themselves in the enjoyment of the same. They pray that the infant may be brought to their condition; and then, after all this, and founded upon it, there is, and there must be, on the part of the infant, a declaration of faith and a promise of obedience. So far, then, as the Church, in her ordinary Services, could provide for the case of Infant Baptism, she puts it precisely on the same principle as that of Adults; so far as it is possible, the infant is placed in the position which the adult occupies, and the Service is the same.

To proceed. There is *again* a prayer that the water may be sanctified to the *mystical* washing away of sin, (the sacramental character never being lost sight of,) and then the Baptism follows, after which the child is declared to be regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church,—the Priest thus declaring that to be done for which the people have prayed; for which they have been called upon to exercise faith in reference to the promises laid before them, and for which they have thanked God that it has been done in themselves. Thanksgiving is then offered for the same blessing having been wrought in respect of the infant, after the public profession of faith has been made in his name.

There yet remains an address to the godfathers and

godmothers, because the infant is not to be neglected; he is not to be left to himself, as if something had been communicated to *him which rendered* future care superfluous. The Church provides; and if it be not carried into effect it is not the fault of the Church herself; that the persons who, in the infant's name, make this profession of faith, shall take him under their care, superintend his education, and train him up in the faith which they have so solemnly professed in his name.

Such are the various stages of the Service; and the Court cannot but see, that the whole structure of the prayers and thanksgiving implies a *charitable hope*, in reliance on the general promises of God made to the faithful and their offspring. The persons who present the child for Baptism having been reminded of the promises of God, are required to make a promise for, and in the name of the infant, who must also faithfully, for his part, promise by them, until he come of age to take it upon himself, his belief in the Christian faith, and his renunciation of the vanities of this wicked world. If this be not conditional, as Mr. Gorham's doctrine affirms it to be, I cannot understand what conditional means. It is absolutely puerile to harp upon certain words, as upon mere sounds, in answer to all this. The whole framing of the Service is conditional; and it proceeds to express confidence in the result clearly and only on the charitable hypothesis, that what has been engaged will be performed; for most clearly there is implied sincerity in the profession, and with promise of fulfilment. I should like to know, Sir, how a question which here arises is to be resolved. Suppose that all present, from first to last, fail in their parts; what effect would that have upon the Service and upon the blessing? I know not that any one has attempted to answer this inquiry. Supposing every person present utterly and entirely to fail; and if we are to call in extreme cases, we may suppose such a case as the one suggested. I say no

Divine has ever attempted to resolve what would be the effect in respect to the spiritual blessings conveyed. We all know that with regard to Baptism itself, the Church has over and over again decided that it shall not be repeated; but we are now upon the question of the spiritual grace conferred; and I say again, that the difficulty I have suggested has not as yet been resolved, or attempted to be resolved, by anybody. I see the most solemn call upon the persons present to join in the act; I see the most solemn injunction upon them to believe in certain promises; I see a call to join in the most solemn prayers for a spiritual blessing to follow; and I say, suppose that all present should be mere automatons; suppose that they are all no better than Infidels, or are actually Infidels; how far does or does not such a circumstance affect the spiritual blessings which are conveyed by the Sacrament of Baptism? I repeat that it is a difficulty of which there has been no resolution, or attempted resolution, to my knowledge.

We now come to the office of Private Baptism of Children in houses; and I really must say again, that I do not understand how any fair inference in regard to the doctrine of Baptism upon the point at issue can be drawn from the extraordinary cases for which this Service is provided.

The Rubric directs, that without great cause and necessity this Service is not to be performed at all; and, therefore, it is not a Service from which we are to draw the general doctrine of the Church. It is a Service designed for an emergency, where the Church is content with as much as the time and present exigence will permit. The Church would have all to be done if all can be accomplished. It is not her direction that this Service should be confined to the act of Baptism itself, for the Minister is to introduce as much of the other Service as the circumstances under which he is placed will allow,

and the Court has already seen how highly important those other parts of the Public Service are.

After the infant has been privately baptized, the Church directs that he shall be brought into the Church, thereby shewing an anxiety to connect this case with the other, and make them as nearly identical as possible. Therefore, you are not to take the *ordinary* case of the Public Baptism of Infants, and interpret that by the *extraordinary* case of Private Baptism, which the Bishop of Exeter is doing. On the contrary, the desire of the Church is to take the ordinary case as that which is the proper mode of administration, and to bring,—I may say, anxiously to bring—the extraordinary case of Private Baptism, administered where there is danger of death,—within the same category; to bring it as nearly as possible to the circumstances of the other case. That is the light in which I view this Service.

The Gospel is the same as in the Public Service—the exhortation, indeed, is changed, the Private Baptism having taken place previously. But this arises from Private Baptism being an extraordinary case. The Church would not deny any benefit or blessing which may be conferred thereby. Whether it be equal in the two cases she determines not; but, whatever it is, or however great or small it may be, the Church would not deny it to any infants of Christian parents under circumstances of necessity.

The last clause of this exhortation is obviously the language of hope. It cannot be predicated of any infant that the blessing of eternal life shall of certainty be given him, and that necessarily he shall be made a partaker of the everlasting kingdom of God. No person would maintain that as being the doctrine of the Church of England. I say, then, if half the sentence is the language of hope, why not the other half also? What pretence is there for

cutting the sentence in two, and saying, of the one half it is the language of certainty, of the other it is language of hope. You must resort to hope in respect to the latter clause—"will give unto him eternal life." I contend that you must resort to the like charitable hope in regard to the former.

The Lord's Prayer, which then follows, is succeeded by another, in which is a petition for the grace of the Holy Spirit, that the infant may continue the servant of Christ and obtain his promises.

But, after all this, and after having thanked God that He hath been pleased to regenerate the infant, what is done? Why, a public profession of faith is ordered to be made in his name, just in the same way as it was in the name of the infant brought into the Church to be baptized. The Church of England considers this to be necessary where it can be done. I do not mean to say that she considers it to be so necessary as that the Sacrament is void, if the confession be not made;—that is another position—but I say the Church does consider it necessary. She rather goes out of the way to introduce it; because, at the beginning of the Service, there is a thanksgiving to God for the regeneration of the infant, notwithstanding which she ordains that there should be the declaration of faith made in his name afterwards by his sponsors.

When the profession of faith has been made, we have this enunciation repeated: "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is by Baptism regenerate."

Really, the re-introduction of this, after having, at the beginning of the Service, thanked God that the child is regenerate, does appear to me to shew the anxiety of the framers of the Liturgy to put the two Services, as nearly as they possibly could, upon the same footing. The Church, in effect, now says, This extraordinary case has been provided for, the whole rite is now complete, and the

infant is placed exactly in the same position as one baptized in the usual mode.

Such are the remarks which appear to me to arise from the Service for the Private Baptism of Infants as I read it in the Book of Common Prayer.

I come next to the Service for Adults ; but, before I enter on that, I must remind the Court of what has been so often reiterated by the Bishop's Counsel, namely, that the Church of England considers Regeneration of Adults in Baptism to be conditional : my position is, therefore, admitted with respect to the Service which I am now about to consider. I have, more than once, read the passages selected from the Charge of the Bishop of Exeter as shewing the difference between this Service and the former ; I have listened to them as they have been read to the Court in the course of the argument ; and all I can say is, I am perfectly unable to see any important distinction between the wording of the two Services. I see that one Service is provided for Adults, and the other for Infants ; I know, therefore, there must be a distinction of some kind. It cannot be avoided. But I say, putting aside that necessary distinction which arises out of the situation of the parties to be baptized, I really am unable to find any other distinction between them. There is none that I can discover in regard to the character of the Service, and the way in which it is to be interpreted. If, therefore, you grant the proposition which the Bishop of Exeter does grant, namely, that in respect to Adults Baptism is conditional, I am unable to see how, by any possibility, you can avoid arriving at the same conclusion in respect to Infants. That there has been no want of attempt to escape from this conclusion I admit ; for, first, stress is laid on the Rubric, that due care should be taken for the Examination of the Adults, whether they be sufficiently instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. To this I reply, that if

infants were capable of instruction, the same would be directed with respect to them. But they are not capable. This, therefore, is a defect in the person to be baptized; but I deny that it involves any difference in doctrine. If the child is old enough to be instructed, it ought to be instructed; if it have passed the age of infancy, and is old enough to have some ideas of truth imparted to it, every Clergyman would naturally see that a child so brought to him was not placed precisely in the same position with an infant, and would require it to be instructed. It depends, therefore, on the person to be baptized, and has no bearing at all upon the Doctrine of the Church, as taught in her Services.

The Service for the Baptism of Adults sets out with an address, as pointed as the corresponding address in the Baptismal Service for Infants. The persons present are called upon to pray that God, of his bounteous goodness, will grant to these persons that which by nature they cannot have, that they may be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's holy Church. Now, Sir, I am at a loss to know what blessing can be, or even has been, attributed to Baptism by any writer, which is not exhausted by these words. The words I have just read embrace and exhaust everything that the fondest imagination has ever attributed to Baptism. More cannot be said than is here said; and, if we are to commence with an hypothetical mode of interpreting this; if we are to say, *this* proceeds out of a supposition that the parties are worthy; can you find fault with the Clergyman who says, I know of no other means of rightly interpreting the other Service?

In the prayer that follows, as in the corresponding prayer for Infant Baptism, we find the same words,—“the mystical washing away of sin.” I pray attention to that.

In the two succeeding prayers offered by the whole congregation as before, we have the same petition, that the

parties to be baptized may be "*washed* and sanctified with the Holy Ghost," and "coming to thy Holy Baptism, may receive remission "of their sins by Spiritual Regeneration:" and it is admitted that all this "must be taken in an hypothetical sense and receive a charitable interpretation. I do not see how any argument can be drawn from the circumstance that the Gospel appointed for this Service is different from that in the Service for Infants. All that I can perceive in regard to it is, that the one was selected as peculiarly applicable to infants, the other as more peculiarly applicable to adults. One has respect to the act of our Lord in regard to infants, the other is the instruction of our Lord himself to an adult. From this circumstance, as it appears to me, the matter is easily and simply explained; that explanation lying obviously in a consideration of the different persons to whom the Services apply.

It is argued that from the introduction of the words "truly repenting, and coming unto him by faith," in the exhortation that follows the Gospel, we are to introduce another principle altogether. It is said these words shew this Service to be entirely conditional, whereas there is no such condition in respect to the other. Now I desire to know what words could have been inserted in the Service for Infants more declaratory of its conditional character than those which we find there? I know of none. The requirements there are just as positive. The Infant *MUST* faithfully promise. The distinction of principle attempted to be set up is altogether untenable. The difference, and the only difference, is in the condition of the recipient. The doctrine of the Church is the same in respect to both—the prayer is as specific in regard to adults for the blessing on them, as the prayer in the former Service was for the blessing on infants; yet the prayer for adults, *ex confessis*, proceeds on a charitable hypothesis. The attempted distinction is wholly unauthorized, and shews

only the urgency of need, when every minute circumstance is wrested to swell the argument on the other side. The confession of faith, indeed, is made by the man himself, he being able to do it. In the other case it is made by sponsors; but this is simply on account of the physical impossibility that the child should make a confession of faith in his own person, and for no other reason whatever.

The language of the prayer immediately before the act of Baptism, and of that which follows it, are alike strong and identical with that appointed in the case of infants. "Sanctify this water to the *mystical* washing away of sin," &c. The Baptism follows, and then the adult baptized persons are declared to be regenerate. "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that these persons are regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church," the very words used in the Service for Infants. I pray the Court's attention to this (which is also important with reference to another observation which I shall presently have to offer). That the prayer before Baptism—the confession of faith and promise of obedience by the adult, and the declaration by the Church of the effect of Baptism when it has been administered to him, are in the very identical words which are used in the Service for the Baptism of Infants. And on what plea or pretence is it, I ask, that the same words are to have a literal interpretation assigned to them in the one case, and an hypothetical charitable construction in the other. We have heard much of the plain, literal, grammatical meaning of words which no honest man can mistake. But a mode of interpretation is nevertheless advanced, which is totally inconsistent with any such boast; for the Bishop's Counsel are driven to maintain the necessity of construing, and the right of compelling another to construe, the very same words in different senses; literal in one Service—hypothetical in another; conditional in one Service—unconditional in the other; and because a Clerk declines to take such

liberty with the language of other men, and other times, he is to be charged with unsoundness in doctrine, and refused Institution to a Living; and you, Sir, are now in effect called upon to pronounce that he ought no longer to officiate in the Church of England. It appears to me that this is carrying the idea of unsound doctrine to a length never heard of before, and one which reason and propriety both forbid. I say again that the distinction of principle attempted to be set up is untenable. Regeneration is, in the hope of charity, declared to be bestowed in both cases, and it is equally and alike conditional in both.

There remains one other observation on this Service, to which I must briefly call the attention of the Court, as I made a passing allusion to it just now. In the concluding address by the minister to baptized adults, we have these words:—"As for you who have now by Baptism put on Christ, it is your part and duty also, being made the children of God and of the light, (how?) *by faith in Jesus Christ*, to walk answerably to your Christian calling,"—the remainder of the address being in the same terms as that which occurs in the Service for Infant Baptism. The remark which strikes me upon the words I have read is this. It must be manifest from the whole structure of the Service, and from every expression contained in it, as well as from the Articles of the Church and her Catechism; in short, from everything that she has placed upon record; that if no sincerity and no faith have existed in adult persons so baptized, they will have received only that part of the sacrament which is the outward and visible sign—not the other part, which is the inward and spiritual grace, and which is here expressly attributed to the *faith* they have exercised, and *not* to the *baptism* they have received. I apply this also to the case and Service of infants, *for* whom, by their sureties, the very identical declaration and promises were made, as now by adults in

their own persons. Oh, but, it is said, infants cannot believe; the same principle does not apply to them. Admitting that to be so, still I say the same principle does apply to them, and is by the Church herself expressly declared so to do; for "why are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform them? Because they promise them both by their sureties;" not because, being infants, no qualification is required, and no condition imposed; but that must be done on their behalf by others, which is done by adults in their own persons, and the spiritual effect must be held liable to fail in the one case, since it is admitted that it may do so in the other.

The Court was told again and again by the Counsel on the other side, that the answer just read was erroneous; that it was wrong, and ought to be corrected or expunged. Without holding the Bishop personally responsible for such a comment, as I might do in a case of any other description, I may say that I never expected in this argument to hear a direct censure pronounced upon any portion of the Church Catechism, in which a Clergyman is bound to instruct every child in his parish, in order to sustain a charge of unsound doctrine against the Clergyman himself.

If the doctrine of the Church had been that which is contended for by the Bishop, the answer in the Catechism could not have been what it is.

Why are infants baptized?

The answer would obviously have been—Because there is in them no hinderance or impediment; nothing to obstruct the channel of Divine grace and spiritual life; there being no *obex* in them, they, as infants, are fit subjects of Baptism—worthy recipients *as* such.

But it is not so. The answer is, "They promise them both by their sureties," &c.

A present declaration of faith, and a promise of future

obedience, are therefore indispensable pre-requisites to the Baptism of infants. The force of this must have been felt, or we should not have heard on the part of a Bishop the censure on the Catechism which has been iterated and reiterated in argument on the present occasion. Sir, I say that this answer in the Catechism is important in two respects. It affords a proof, in addition to that arising from the Articles themselves, that the case of infants, as well as of adults, was contemplated by the expressions "worthy recipients" and "right recipients," as they occur in the Articles; and it also goes to shew, that, since the qualification of infants required by the Church, in the promises made by sureties on their behalf, places them as nearly as possible in the condition of adults, the Services themselves ought to be understood in a similar manner; and therefore that a charitable hypothetical construction must be applied equally, and alike, to both.

Really, Sir, after looking at these Services of the Church, and examining them as I have done, I must be allowed to say that it requires something more than the mere opinions of a few private individuals, such as have been produced to the Court, to overthrow the positions I have laid down. And I may just notice in passing, the singular inconsistency by which their production was accompanied. Authority after authority, if such they could be called, was brought forward on the other side, all (with the exception of the Savoy Conference, on which I shall have a word to say by and by) being the opinions of private persons, of what value in the balance we shall presently see. But no sooner were these exhausted, than the Counsel for the Bishop of Exeter, as if suddenly reminded of something that had occurred on the subject, is pleased to follow them up with a protest against the introduction of any private authorities on our behalf. You must go to the Services, we were told, and abide by them. Sir, I say that the Services, rightly understood,

are sufficient for my purpose ; but I deprecate the attempt to hinder me from producing authorities in support of that interpretation of the Services for which I contend ; and this simply because there might be good reason to apprehend that these authorities will be found to be of very inconvenient weight. But there are some other matters that claim prior attention. In the first place, I must look briefly at one or two other portions of the Church Services. I profess myself unable to comprehend how any Service could be drawn up, but upon the supposition that the persons present are sincere, and that therefore the grace and blessing attached to the Service, or intended so to be, do actually accompany its performance. The Court will see at once how impossible it would be to prepare a service upon any other supposition ; nor do I know, nor can I hear, of its having ever been attempted. Every Service of the Church must proceed upon two principles ; first, that the parties present are faithful individuals ; and secondly, that what they are assembled to do is really and effectually done. I will refer as an illustration of my meaning to the responses which are, in the daily Services, put into the mouths of the congregation, and said alternately by them and the minister :—

“ O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us, as our trust is in thee !

“ O Lord, in Thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded ! ”

Now does the Church of England mean to assert by that, or can any one fairly infer from these phrases, that it is the doctrine of the Church of England that every single person who has ever uttered these words must necessarily have been in the state described by them ? Can it be predicated for one moment that such is the doctrine of the Church of England ? Would it were so ! and undoubtedly the Church would have it so if she could, but she knows it, in the present condition of things, to be impossible. This therefore illustrates the principle upon which every

Service is necessarily constructed. Again, in another part the Priest says,—

“O God, make clean our hearts within us.”

And the answer which every man, woman, and child who can speak is supposed to give is,—

“And take not thy Holy Spirit from us.”

Again does the Church put words into the mouths of the worshippers expressive of the state in which they *ought* to be, without by any means asserting that they necessarily are in such a condition.

But I go further. I will turn to the Service of the Burial of the Dead, of which, I think, I may fearlessly assert, that if there is one Service more difficult to explain than another—except upon the broad principle, which, I say, applies necessarily to every Service—it is the one to which I now invite the attention of the Court. When that Service is performed, the person over whom it takes place has gone to his last account; for the most part, those who are present are familiar with his character and his deeds; he is buried generally in the place where he was well known; and no one can help reflecting on many of the actions of his past life. Under such circumstances this Service is performed.

When the corpse is lowered to the grave, the clergyman says:

“Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother here departed,” &c.

—I ask, can it be fairly inferred, from these expressions, that the Church of England means to assert, and lay down dogmatically, of every individual who does not die unbaptized, excommunicate, or has not laid violent hands upon himself—for these are the only exceptions in the Rubric; will any one, I say, maintain, from the above statement in this Service, that the Church of England seriously lays it down as her doctrine, that the soul of every individual so buried by a lawful minister, over whom this Service is read, is so

taken to himself by Almighty God, as that it is an exhibition of his mercy?

Further on in the Service we have these words:—

“Almighty God, with whom do live the spirits of them that depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity: we give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world.”

Here again, I ask, can it be maintained for a moment that by the use of such language as this the Church of England intended to aver the fact therein stated, in regard to every single individual over whom this Service of Burial is read? It must be taken (and it was intended so to be) as the expression of a charitable hope; in that way it is to be construed, and in that way only can it be understood. It was said that the fifth, sixth, and seventh questions put by the Bishop to Mr. Gorham were simply words taken from the Catechism, and from the Services for the Baptism of Infants—public and private—and that, therefore, Mr. Gorham might have answered them Yes or No. They have been described as the simplest and easiest questions that could possibly be put. I should like to test the simplicity of the Bishop's mode of examination; and in order so to do, I will just take the language of some of the other Services, and adapt his three questions to them, and let us see whether it would be possible so to answer *them*: because, if not, we may well grant to Mr. Gorham the indulgence of a little further consideration that might suffice for the monosyllabic answer Yes or No. Suppose, then, some such questions as the following to be proposed:—Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that in the case of every person buried by a lawful minister, it has pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the soul of that person? Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that the bodies of all such persons are to be committed to the ground in sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal

life? Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that for all such persons we ought to give thanks to God that it hath pleased him to deliver them out of the miseries of this sinful world, *because the souls of the faithful after they are delivered from the burthen* of the flesh are in joy and felicity? Who would venture to answer "Yes," without some explanation—and what would the answer be worth if made? I say it would be impossible with any sense of propriety or decency to make such an unqualified reply. Then take the Service for Adult Baptism, and apply the questions there. Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that every adult baptized by a lawful minister with water, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is made by God in such Baptism regenerate? Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that such persons have by Baptism "*put on Christ*," and have been "made the children of God" and "of light," by faith in Jesus Christ? Does our Church hold, and do you hold, that all adults so baptized are born again of water and of the Spirit? Upon his own shewing, and the statement of his Counsel, it would be impossible for the Bishop of Exeter himself to reply to these questions, without further addition, either Yes or No; he could not do it. The Bishop must have claimed the liberty of saying—Yes, provided the condition be fulfilled that he truly repents and turns to God by faith. It is therefore too much to turn round upon Mr. Gorham, and say that he should have answered these questions categorically, simply because the expressions happen to be enunciated in the words of the Service.

I desire now, shortly, to call the attention of the Court to the Articles of the Church of England. And, indeed, I must say that as this is the first instance to my knowledge, so I trust that it may be the last, of unsound doctrine being imputed to a Clerk for expressly taking his stand upon the Articles, and refusing to go beyond them. It is said that when the Articles are ambiguous, you must

go to the Prayer-book to understand them. It will be time enough to consider that proposition when the case arises, if it ever should; but there is no pretence for it here. The subject of Baptism is specifically and most clearly treated in the Articles, and we do not want any reference to the Liturgy to enable us rightly to understand the doctrine of the Church as therein contained. There are two Articles bearing directly on the subject—the Twenty-fifth, on the Sacraments generally; and the Twenty-seventh, upon the Sacrament of Baptism specifically. It has been said that the Articles can be twisted and stretched like a piece of wax—a singular assertion that, and particularly so to be made in this place. Those who have maintained doctrines contrary to the Articles have not hitherto found it an easy matter to sustain their position. In Mr. Oakeley's case there was not a single point in which it was found possible to support his Roman doctrine by them, for the Articles were against him on all. So it was in the case of Mr. Stone. So it was with Whiston. Mr. Whiston himself might, indeed (as has been asserted), find more difficulty with regard to the Prayer-book than the Articles, but the latter were sufficient to test his heresy, and so they always will be found to be. There has yet arisen no point of heresy which is not met by them. They were framed for the very purpose of being the test of doctrine.

The doctrine of the Church in regard to Baptism, as clearly laid down in the Twenty-seventh Article, is this:—

“Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened.”

It is more than that; it is not merely like the uniform of a soldier—it is not merely like the livery of a servant—it is not intended only to shew that you are a Christian, as opposed to Pagans—it is all this indeed, but it is something more.

“It is also a sign of Regeneration, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly”—

So says Mr. Gorham—

“They that receive Baptism rightly are thereby grafted into the Church.”

Mr. Gorham does no more than maintain this—

“The promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed.”

So says Mr. Gorham, and I pray the Court's attention to these expressions. You do not sign or seal a thing that does not exist, the terms employed predicate that it exists, though not in such fulness as it may afterwards. That is Mr. Gorham's prevenient act of grace—it exists *sub modo*, it exists in a measure and degree, but in the Sacrament it is to be signed and sealed. That is what the Article expresses, and that is what Mr. Gorham maintains. “Faith is *confirmed*.” Therefore it already *exists*. You cannot confirm that which has no existence. Baptism does not leave faith where it found it—it adds to and strengthens it. But the giving birth to faith is what the Bishop of Exeter predicates of Baptism. He says that faith comes into existence by it; whereas, the Article expressly shews that if Baptism be rightly received, faith must be already in existence, and by Baptism it is increased, enlarged, confirmed, strengthened. It is not a mere empty sign, it is an efficacious sign. The Court has already heard the Article read throughout; it will bear no other construction, neither has any been attempted :—

“Faith is confirmed, and grace is increased by virtue of prayer unto God.”

And it cannot be said that this has nothing to do with infants,—for what does the Article say in addition?—

“The Baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.”

So that, in effect, the Church says :—I have the case of young children before me, and this Article applies to them. *She* makes no *separate* statement, as the Bishop of Exeter does, with regard to the efficacy of Baptism in their case;

but this is her general doctrine, both as to adults and children. And is a Clerk to be accused of holding unsound doctrine, because he holds the same precisely, neither more nor less than does the Church herself? It is what I cannot understand.

Now, let us take the Twenty-fifth Article, which is in these words:—

“Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men’s profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God’s good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.”

The Article says it “quicken;” it also strengthens and confirms; if it quickens it imparts; but that which it strengthens and confirms must be already in existence. What says Mr. Gorham? It may be *before* Baptism; it may be *in* Baptism. Is that doctrine unsound which is in exact conformity with the Articles? It may also, says Mr. Gorham, be after Baptism; for the not receiving Baptism rightly, and so, not efficaciously, is nowhere declared by the Church of England to be a final and fatal bar to salvation.

It is said, that this Article can only apply to the Lord’s Supper; because Baptism was never carried about. But the Article itself testifies that it was. In former times it was a very usual thing to carry about holy water and baptize bells and various other things. In the writings of the Reformers, we find passage after passage referring to it; and yet we are gravely told, that this Article cannot apply to Baptism. It is a pity that those who say so were not a little better read in Ecclesiastical History. In “Calfhill’s Answer to Martial” it is asserted, that the Papists of that day thought the best Baptism of all was that of bells, inasmuch as a Priest could baptize a child, but a Bishop only could baptize a bell; and, therefore, they held that baptizing a bell was a far more sacred thing than baptizing

a child. At the end of the Article we find the following strong statement:—

“And in such only as worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect or operation; but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint Paul saith.”

It was argued by Dr. Addams, that this limitation of benefit to worthy reception did not apply to Baptism; because the passage referred to in St. Paul's Epistle is confined to the Lord's Supper. But the Article uses the word Sacraments in the plural, both in the English and in the Latin edition. It is, therefore, palpable, that, whether the reason given by St. Paul in the passage quoted from the Epistle to the Corinthians, be by him applied to one only, or to both the Sacraments, the framers of the Articles here apply it to both; and the only explanation of this attempted on the other side has been, that they had none to offer; for they did not know how to account for it. That the words apply to both the Sacraments is clear from the Article, both in the Latin and English, though the former is, perhaps, more decisive. In regard, then, to both the Sacraments, you must have worthy reception, and this has been indeed partly admitted; because we were told, again and again, that infants are worthy recipients, inasmuch as they place no bar in the way of grace; and, moreover, a portion of the Catechism was rejected, and repudiated, to make the assertion good. No such doctrine is, however, held by the Church of England. In her estimation infants as infants are not worthy recipients—there may, indeed, be, and there is, as I have already mentioned, a mode of viewing them as the children of Christian parents; but no such doctrine is maintained by the Church of England as that infants are worthy recipients, because they place no bar in the way of grace. On the contrary, they are expressly declared by her to be born in sin, and to be the children of wrath. This I have already proved beyond all doubt; and I

shall, therefore, detain the Court no longer upon the point.

For the right understanding of the Articles, in reference to the question before the Court, it is necessary, as I have already observed, to bear in mind the two extreme positions, which have, at different times, been held upon the doctrine of this Sacrament of Baptism. I shall have occasion to shew to the Court presently how entirely without foundation is the statement which has been so often made with the greatest confidence—that for the first fifteen centuries of the Christian era no difference of opinion existed with respect to the doctrine of Baptism. But this belongs to the historical part of the subject. The doctrine of the Church of Rome respecting Baptism, as declared by the Council of Trent, is that against which the Twenty-sixth of those Articles, passed in the Convocation of 1552, was aimed. We had occasion to refer to the decrees of the Council of Trent, as the Court will remember, when Mr. Oakeley's case was before it. We have also heard allusions to the *opus operatum* in the course of the present argument, and many statements have been made respecting it; but the learned Counsel on the other side have exhibited a somewhat remarkable shiness as to using the word itself. I will now give the Court a little information about it. The use of the term was first authoritatively adopted and sanctioned by the Council of Trent.

The sixth Canon of that Council, passed in its seventh Session, is as follows :—

“ Si quis dixerit, Sacramenta novæ legis non continere gratiam, quam significant, aut gratiam ipsam non ponentibus obicem non conferre, quasi signa tantum externa sint, acceptæ per fidem gratiæ, vel justitiæ et notæ quædam Christianæ professionis, quibus apud homines discerniuntur Fideles ab infidelibus, anathema sit.”

“ *Non ponentibus obicem,*” to persons not interposing any

obstacle. A variety of statements have been made in the present argument (I do not say designedly) approaching somewhat closely the doctrine laid down in this Canon; for it was stated that grace accompanied the Sacrament in all cases, except the party baptized did something to prevent, or impede it. This kind of language we had over and over again in the argument on the other side. I do not say that the doctrine laid down in the Canon I have quoted was formally adopted; but certainly the expressions bordered so closely upon it, that some of them seemed to me to arise from the Counsel opposite not having very carefully studied the Articles, which were adopted in Convocation in the year 1552, and sanctioned by Edward VI., and, of course, approved by Archbishop Cranmer.

The Decrees of the Council of Trent which treat of Baptism are the sixth, seventh, and eighth Canons, passed in the seventh Session of that Council, and the first of which I have already given. The seventh and eighth Canons are as follows:—

Canon 7.—"Si quis dixerit, non dari gratiam per hujusmodi Sacramenta semper, et omnibus quantum est ex parte Dei, etiam si rite ea suscipiunt, sed aliquando, et aliquibus: anathema sit."

Canon 8.—"Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novæ legis Sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere: anathema sit."

Against this doctrine of the Church of Rome, the Twenty-sixth of the Articles sanctioned by the Convocation of 1552 is levelled. That Article, as it is given in the Latin version, stands thus:—

"Sacramenta non instituta sunt a Christo ut spectarentur aut circumferrentur, sed ut rite illis uteremur; *et in his duntaxat QUI DIGNÈ PERCIPIUNT salutarem habent effectum*—[idque NOM EX OPERE (ut quidam loquuntur) OPERATO, quæ vox ut peregrina est et sacris literis ignota, sic parit sensum minime pium sed admodum superstitiosum:]

qui vero INDIGNA percipiunt damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipais acquirunt."

In the subsequent Articles of 1562, that portion of the Article which speaks of the *opus operatum* was omitted, and so it continued to be in the Articles of 1571, which are, in this respect, similar to those of 1562.

On this point I will beg to call the attention of the Court to a passage from Bishop Burnet, in his work on the Articles:—

"For the virtue of the Sacraments being put in the worthy receiving, excludes the doctrine of *opus operatum*, as formally as if it had expressly been condemned; and the naming the two Sacraments instituted by Christ, is upon the matter the rejecting of the rest."

So that, according to Burnet, the Article, as it now stands, as formally excludes the *opus operatum* as the earlier Articles did, in the time of Edward VI.

But, on the other hand, some few Protestants, fearing this extreme of error, had fallen into one of the opposite direction, calling the Sacraments mere signs and representations. This Twenty-sixth Article, therefore, takes a middle course: it says the Sacrament is something more than a mere badge of profession, distinguishing the Christian from an Infidel. You are not, on the one hand, to fall into the error of the *opus operatum*, and say that grace is always conferred, unless the parties interposed an *obex*. You must not, on the other hand, say that the Sacraments are mere signs and badges of a Christian profession. That, Sir, is the true doctrine of the Church of England, as set forth in the Articles which passed in Convocation in the year 1552, and the present Articles are precisely to the same tenor. There is the rock on the one side, and the whirlpool on the other; the Church of England plumes herself upon steering through the passage. You are to avoid both Scylla and Charybdis; you are not to go to the one extreme or to the other: that is the only definition, and the only

rule, which the Church of England has thought fit to give.

It is said that this leaves the interpretation to every private clergyman: most assuredly it does, provided he keep within the proper and assigned bounds.

But this is no sufficient objection. Why, what was admitted respecting the Seventeenth Article, entitled, "Of Predestination and Election." And whilst speaking of that Article, the Court will remember that there was, not very many years since, a Bishop in the Church of England who tried, by means of an Examination upon that *very Seventeenth Article*, to rid the Church of those who did not hold his particular view upon it; but the attempt signally failed. That Article alone is sufficient to shew that there are points upon which the Church of England allows a latitude. So, I say, it is in respect to the doctrine of Baptism. The Article respecting Baptism is drawn up precisely on the same principle; it says, you are not to hold, with the Papist, the *opus operatum*; you are not to hold, with the Puritans, or modern Dissenters, that the Sacraments are mere signs and badges of a Christian profession. That, I say, from the Articles, is the doctrine of the Church of England; and I say it without reference to any of the Services, from which we can derive no aid, or additional light. We do not need to consider every question which might be proposed relating to the Sacraments, or to interpret every difficulty that might arise. Is Mr. Gorham a person who says, "I cannot administer Baptism?" Is he in the situation of Mr. Jukes, or Mr. Noel, whose names have been so often introduced, and who say, "The Church of England holds such a doctrine, and we cannot and will not use the Liturgy, but will retire from the Church." Mr. Gorham is in the habit of baptizing all the infants that come to him. He is willing still to baptize them at Brampford Speke, as he has done at St. Just, though it is probable

he will not have so many to baptize as in his present large Living. It has been tauntingly said against Mr. Gorham, that with his views he cannot discharge his duty of instructing the children of his parish in the Church Catechism. I know of no question and no answer in that Catechism which, with the views he holds of Baptism, he needs to shun; none that would be such an *obex* to catechetical instruction that he need warn the children against it, as containing erroneous doctrine, and express to them a desire that both question and answer were expunged.

He finds no such difficulties, and he raises none; but being obliged to resort to some hypothesis to explain the extraordinary cases which the Bishop of Exeter puts before him and binds him to answer, he has adopted that which seemed most satisfactory to his mind, as reconciling and harmonizing all with the Scripture which the Church has placed on record. If there is a point in which a latitude may be allowed, it is in such a case as this. Mr. Gorham will not go to the extent of the *opus operatum* on the one hand; and he maintains that a Sacrament is more than a mere badge of profession, a mere distinction between Christians and Pagans, on the other.

Sir, I referred to the admitted contents of the Seventeenth Article, because, in my own estimation, *with respect to a great number of persons*, it is an Article which strikes at the root of this present question. We know that from the time of the Reformation, or nearly so—at any rate from the reign of James I. to the present time—there have been two parties in the Church:—those who, in modern times, are called Calvinists; and those who, in modern times, have been termed Arminians. The distinction between these classes consists mainly in this; that the Calvinist holds an election of individual persons, to whom the *effectual* grace of God is confined, so that in

speaking of the grace given to those elect persons, you cannot exalt it too highly, or predicate of it too much ; but, in regard to all others, he maintains that *none* such is vouchsafed. The Arminians deprecate any such distinction, averring that the same grace is vouchsafed to every man. Now, if, as has been repeatedly admitted on the other side, the Church has designedly and effectually left this point open ; surely, when she came to Infant Baptism, she would not be expected to draw it closer, and frame her Article upon the latter doctrine in such a way as to exclude either of the parties, between whom she had given no decision. She would not drive the Calvinist from her bosom, by compelling him to hold every infant to be elect ; neither would she exclude the Arminian, by extorting from him a confession that the grace of Baptism is effected only to some, because they are the objects of special and electing grace. I say that it is unfair, and in the highest degree improbable, to suppose, that the Church of England would do that by a side wind, in an Article on Baptism, which she abstained from doing when speaking directly on the points at issue between the two parties I have named.

Considering, as I think I may now do, that the Church of England does allow such latitude as I have described, with respect to Baptism ; I have only, before I take my leave of the *opus operatum*, to call the Court's attention to two passages from the Canon Law, in which its history is involved. I do this in answer to the memorable statement, that the Church, for 1500 years, always held the same doctrine on this point ; and until Mr. Gorham, or some other like disturbers of the peace of the Church, a little before his time—always a most dangerous set of men—introduced a difference. My first reference is to Gregory's "Decretals," Book III., tit. xlii., chap. iii. It bears date in the year 1250, so that it is no very modern

authority. The Epistle is long: I do not trouble the Court with the earlier part of it, but just take a sentence that refers more particularly to the point:—

“ Illud vero quod opposcentes inducunt fidem aut charitatem, aliasque virtutes parvulis utpote non consentientibus non infundi, à plerisque non conceditur absolutè, cùm propter hoc inter Doctores Theologos quæstio referatur, aliis asserentibus per virtutem Baptismi parvulis quidem culpam remitti, sed gratiam non conferri, nonnullis dicentibus dimitti peccatum et virtutes infundi habentibus illas quoad habitum non quoad usum donec perveniant ad ætatem adultam.”

So that the doctrine which the Council of Trent subsequently laid down, was not at this time absolute. There was a contest then proceeding upon the very point.

The doctrine of the Council of Trent is, that you incur the anathema if you deny that grace is conferred. But in the year 1250 it was an open question.

This, then, establishes what I purposed to shew, viz., that the precise question *now* under consideration was then in dispute, and remained unsettled up to that time, so that we have at once snatched twelve centuries and a-half out of the fifteen.

We will now come to later times—to the Constitution of Clement, in the Council of Vienna. First Title, chap. ii.—

“ Verùm, quia quantum ad effectum Baptismi in parvulis, reperiuntur Doctores quidam Theologi opiniones contrarias habuisse.

“ § 3. Quibusdam ex ipsis dicentibus, per virtutem Baptismi parvulis quidem culpam remitti, sed gratiam non conferri.”

“ *non conferri* ”—directly in the teeth of the Council of Trent.

“ Aliis è contrà asserentibus, quòd et culpa eisdem in Baptismo, remittitur, et virtutes, ac informans gratia infunduntur, quoad habitum, etsi non pro illo tempore, quoad usum. Nos autem attendentes generalem efficaciam mortis Christi (quæ per Baptisma applicatur pariter omnibus baptizatis) opinionem secundam (quæ dicit, tam parvulis, quàm adultis conferri in Baptismo informantem gratiam et virtutes) tanquam probabiliorem, et dictis Sanctorum, ac Doctorum modernorum Theologiæ magis consonam et concordem, sacro opprobante Concilio duximus eligendam.”

Therefore, at the Council of Vienna, held in 1312, they only determined that this was *more probable*, but they came to no decision upon it. The greater number were coming round in 1312, but the question was never settled until the Council of Trent.

That, Sir, is the history of the *opus operatum*.

The Court will recollect that, when we were examining the questions at issue between the Churches of England and Rome, one after the other, in the case of Mr. Oakeley, (I only just advert to it because it was then a continued line of argument, as to how far the canons of the Council of Trent differed from the tenets of the Church of England,) we found that the Articles of the Church of England stated those differences, and were opposed to the doctrine of the Council of Trent on almost every single point.

The present question was left open up to the Council of Trent. I say then, if the view we are to take of the Articles is that to which I have just adverted, it is highly probable, not only from the arguments derived from the wording of the Seventeenth Article, but also from what the Reformers did in opposing the doctrine of the Council of Trent—that they would have left the question of Baptism open, as it had been before that Council. They opposed the *opus operatum*, and did no more; leaving the general question open, as it had always previously been. They interfered with no private opinion, provided only that the persons who were maintaining it did not transgress on either side, viz., did not bring Baptism too low, so as to make it merely a badge of profession, or did not exalt it too high, so as to make it the *opus operatum* of the Church of Rome. Thus the matter was left at the Reformation.

Sir, we have had a variety of passages brought forward from different authors, who are said to have maintained the doctrine laid down on the other side, as that of the Church of England, and which most clearly Mr. Gorham does not hold; and I wish to call the Court's

attention to a few of them, especially for this reason; viz., that when we come to examine them, we shall find these authors not altogether agreed in the opinions they hold, and the explanations which they give, on this subject of Baptism. We shall find, if I mistake not, about as many solutions of the difficulties as there are authors. I must say, however, that I was rather surprised, considering the nature of the subject, to see brought into Court, a pamphlet, published by a Mr. Davidson. Extracts were read from it, and paragraph after paragraph adduced, as solid proof and sufficient authority. By this means the Court has been led to suppose, that many of the authorities produced—I do not by any means say all—but many of them are in favour of the Bishop of Exeter, which not only do not coincide with him, but go the other way. Now, if instead of this *pamphlet* having been put into the hands of the Counsel opposite, he had been allowed an inspection of the *books* themselves, I cannot but believe, knowing his diligence and acuteness, that he would have avoided the error and the exposure of it. I begin with a writer, whom I admit to have held the opinions maintained on the other side. The Court will however bear in mind that I have two objects in view; first, to shew that their authors support a variety of theories in regard to infant Baptism; and next—for I shall do both—that several of them hold views not even analogous to those which have been mentioned on the other side. Sir, it is not enough in an inquiry of this kind to shew the opinions of the authors which are relied on as expressed in general terms, but we must inquire further, on what principle they maintained their opinions: in other words, what was their theory, and how it was illustrated, and the means by which they made it harmonize with what might otherwise appear to conflict with it. In short, how far they may be consistent with themselves and in agreement with each other.

The first authority quoted, is Dr. Waterland, an author,

as I readily admit, of very high consideration, and who, as I also admit, does to some extent maintain the doctrine stated on the other side. But still it will be necessary to inquire how he explains it. At Vol. iv. page 433, he says:—

“ Having said what I conceived sufficient upon the first Article, respecting *regeneration*, I now proceed to the second, which is *renovation*; and which I understand of a *renewal of heart, or mind*. Indeed, *regeneration* is itself a kind of *renewal*; but then it is of the *spiritual state considered at large*; whereas, *renovation*, the other Article in the text, seems to mean a more *particular* kind of *renewal*, namely, of the *inward frame, or disposition* of the man; which is rather a *capacity, or qualification* (in adults), for *salutary* regeneration, than the regeneration itself. *Regeneration* may be granted and received (as in *infants*), where that *renovation* has no place at all, for the time being; and, therefore, most certainly the notions are very distinct. But of this I may say more hereafter in a proper place. It may be further noted, that *renovation* may be, and *should* be, with respect to adults, *before, and in, and after* Baptism.”

So, the distinction he makes is this; he says *renovation* is a qualification for regeneration, but is not regeneration itself. And in adults it may be *before, and in, and after Baptism*. Now, I don't stop to inquire of Dr. Waterland how renovation can be both the qualification for regeneration, and yet consequent upon it; but I proceed to another passage.

Dr. Waterland goes on thus:—

“ PREVENTING GRACE *must go before, to work in the man faith and repentance*, which are qualifications previous to Baptism, and necessary to render it *salutary*. Those first addresses, or influential visits of the Holy Spirit, turning and *preparing the heart* of man, are the *preparative renewings*, the first and lowest degrees of *renovation*.”

At page 436, he says:—

“ Regeneration, ORDINARILY, is in or through *Baptism* only a transient thing, which comes but once; whereas, *renovation* is before, and in, and after Baptism, and may be often repeated; continuing and increasing from the first *preparations* to Christianity, through the whole progress of the Christian life. So it is in *adults*; but in *infants* regeneration commences *before* renovation, which again shews how distinct and different they are. A third observable difference is, that

regeneration once given can never be totally lost, any more than *Baptism*; and so can never want to be *repeated* in the *whole* thing; whereas, *renovation* may be often *repeated*, or may be totally lost. *Once regenerate and always regenerate*, in some part, is a true maxim in Christianity, only not in such a sense as some *moderns* have taught. But a person once *regenerated* in Baptism can never want to be regenerated again in this life, any more than he can want to be *re-baptized*."

I think that I have read quite sufficient to shew that his principle is a distinction between regeneration and renovation. In regard to renovation, it is not necessary for infants; therefore, he resorts to regeneration, as to which he says,—that it is bestowed upon infants in Baptism. This, in substance, is his rather difficult theory.

I next come to another person of high authority—Dr. Jackson; and I make the same admission with regard to him, that I did with respect to Dr. Waterland. He supports, generally, the statement made on the other side. I do not dispute that—but I refer to him to shew the mode in which he illustrates it. I do not quarrel with one or the other of these authors for any explanation they have given. They have a full right to hold any view they please within the limits of the Article; and I consider them to be, and wish to treat them both, in so far as sound divines, stating each his own, but still their different, views.

For Bishop Jackson's scheme, I need not make any lengthened quotations; it will be enough to refer to Vol. ix. of his works, page 321:—

"All of us do, I am persuaded, unfeignedly acknowledge ourselves to have been by natural birth the sons of wrath; and, to be the sons of wrath, includes in it some work of Satan, wrought *not* in Adam only, but in our nature, which we derive from him; and this work of Satan is two-fold, sin original, and the curse thereunto annexed: this latter part, to wit, the curse, must be dissolved by faith as by the instrument. 'For he that believeth not,' saith St. John iii. 36, 'shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him;' that is, it was upon him from his first being, and rests upon him until it be removed by faith in the Son of God. Now, in that this work of Satan (that is, the curse due to sin original) is removed by faith in the Son of God, the Son of God

is the principal cause or agent which removes it by his sacerdotal or princely blessing upon our ministerial act, or function, of Baptism. It is a truth unquestionable (especially in the doctrine of the Church of England), that as many as are baptized are, from their birth, and by their Baptism, translated from the estate or condition of sons of wrath to the estate, or privilege, of the sons of God. This doctrine of our Church is necessarily grounded upon the saying of our Apostle: (Galatians iii. 27,) 'As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.' Now it is impossible that any should put on Christ and not receive him; and 'to as many as receive him,' saith St. John, ch. i. 12; 'to them he gives power (right or privilege) to become the sons of God.' But here some will demand; if all that are baptized become the sons of God, do they not all, likewise, by this new birth, become heirs with Christ? Yes; all that are sons are likewise heirs; but not, therefore, undisinheritable, because heirs; not, therefore, in the estate of absolute election; because they are in the estate of the sons of God, or heirs with Christ by Baptism. For many whom God hath graciously accepted for His sons; many who, during the time of their infancy, have enjoyed the estate, or privilege, of the sons of God, may, in riper years, turn prodigal sons, and disinherit themselves; and none can be disinherited, but he that hath been in the estate, or condition, of an heir; or, until, with Esau, he have *sold his birthright*.

"Both parts of this assertion—1, That all that are baptized in their infancy become the sons of God, and, during their infancy, do live to God;—2, 'That sin, even in such may revive, and wound some grievously, others mortally—are included in our Apostle's dispute: (Romans vii. 9:) 'I was alive once,' saith the Apostle, 'without the law, but when the commandment came sin revived, and I died.'"

His scheme, therefore, is a sort of modified election, into which persons are brought by Baptism; and, if they continue and progress in that state till they come to riper years, they arrive at a state of grace and absolute election.

These, then, are two different statements of the matter; though I do not object to either of them, as they both appear to come within the limits which the Church of England has laid down.

I shall next advert to Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Mant. And here I have no intention, for there is no need, to quote any particular passages in order to shew what his

views are: he is well known to carry them even further; and is an authority for Baptism conferring regeneration in ALL cases, going even beyond what the Bishop of Exeter himself has predicated in respect to it. So that these three Divines, who have been quoted on the other side as authorities, each present us with a distinct and different view on the subject.

I come now to another writer, of higher authority than either and all of them, to the mention of whose name in support of the statement made on the other side as being the doctrine of the Church of England, I listened *auribus arrectis*. I allude to Bishop Jewell.

This authority must, I think, have been taken on trust at the hands of the Bishop by his Counsel. I observe that he is quoted by his Lordship in his recent Charge, of which we have heard so much—the Bishop of Exeter himself being their favourite witness in this Cause. But here, as in a variety of other particulars, some of which have been mentioned, and others, to which I must refer before I sit down, I cannot but remark, that the dicta of his Lordship, though occurring in a Charge to his Clergy, delivered *ex cathedra*, will, I think, hardly stand the scrutiny of a Court of Law, where things are not usually taken for granted. Bishop Jewell, Sir, has, I say, been seized upon by the other side, and he is quoted by his Lordship's Counsel, as he had before been by the Bishop himself in his Charge, as if the Bishop and he were in agreement, not only with each other, but both of them with the Church of Rome also. But his language, when writing on the Sacrament in the "*Apology*," is precisely consonant to the Articles:—

"We allow the Sacraments of the Church, that is to say, certain holy signs and ceremonies, which Christ would we should use, that by them he might *set before our eyes* the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly *confirm* our faith, and might *seal* his grace," &c.

In the "Defence of the Apology," this passage occurs:—

"The Sacraments give grace, *so far as* Sacraments *be able* to give grace. We say the Sacraments contain the grace of God, because they *represent or signify* the grace of God."

Again,—

"They were said to make a man clean, because they *showed or signified* that a man was made clean."

These are most important passages; they contain Bishop Jewell's explanations, in controversy with Harding, of his own words. In his "Treatise on Private Mass," he again writes:—

"It is granted of all, without contradiction, that one end of the Sacraments is to bring us unto God."

But he further adds:—

"It is not the receiving of the Sacrament which worketh our joining with God; for, whosoever is not joined to God *before* he receives the Sacraments, eateth and drinketh his own judgment; the Sacraments be seals and witnesses, and not, properly, the causes of this conjunction."

Again,—

"This marvellous conjunction, and incorporation, is *first begun* and wrought by faith; *afterward* the same incorporation is *assured* unto us, and *increased* in our Baptism." "The holy mysteries do *not begin*, but rather continue and confirm this incorporation. *First of all* we ourselves must be the body of Christ; and, afterward, we must receive the Sacrament of Christ's body." "The Sacraments lead and instruct us to behold the secret mercies of God."

This is not language which the Bishop of Exeter could adopt; and, therefore, Bishop Jewell cannot be taken as an authority on the Bishop's side of the question. Bishop Jewell couples the two Sacraments, of the Lord's Supper and Baptism, together by one principle. This is precisely what Mr. Gorham maintains; and I am utterly surprised that Bishop Jewell should have been brought

forward as an authority on the other side; for he belongs entirely to us, as I shall again show, by and by.

I shall next take Bishop Taylor, another of the authorities which have been brought forward, quite at random as it appears to me, or, at least, without due consideration. I quote from the second volume of Bishop Heber's edition, under the heading *Infant Baptism*. I think the Court will find the passages I am about to read, expressly to the point. They occur at pp. 248 and 253:—

“Secondly. When the ordinary effect of a Sacrament is done already by some other efficiency or instrument, yet the Sacrament is still as obligatory as before: not for so many reasons or necessities; but for the same commandment. Baptism is the first ordinary current in which the Spirit moves and descends upon us; and where God's Spirit is, they are the sons of God; for Christ's Spirit descends upon none but them that are his; and yet Cornelius, who had received the Holy Spirit, and was heard by God, and visited by an angel, and accepted in his alms and fastings and prayers, was tied to the susception of Baptism. To which may be added, that the receiving the effects of Baptism beforehand, was used as an argument the rather to administer Baptism. The effect of which consideration is this—that Baptism and its effect may be separated, and do not always go in conjunction; the effect may be before, and therefore much rather may it be after its susception, the Sacrament operating in the virtue of Christ, ‘even as the Spirit shall move;’ according to that saying of St. Austin, ‘The work of regeneration that is begun in the ministry of Baptism, is perfected in some sooner, in some later;’ and St. Bernard, ‘We may soon be washed; but to be healed is a work of a long cure.’

“The Church gives the Sacraments, God gives the grace of the Sacrament. But because he does not always give it at the instant in which the Church gives the Sacrament (as if there be a secret impediment in the suscipient), and yet afterwards does give it when the impediment is removed (as to them that repent of that impediment), it follows that the Church may administer rightly, even before God gives the real grace of the Sacrament; and if God gives this grace afterwards by parts, and yet all of it is the effect of that covenant which was consigned in Baptism, he that defers some may defer all, and verify every part, as well as any part. For it is certain that in the instance now made, all the grace is deferred; in infants it is not

certain but that some is collated or infused ; however, be it so or no, yet upon this account the administration of the Sacrament is not hindered."

These passages distinctly show that Bishop Taylor did not confine spiritual regeneration to Baptism in the case of infants. He admits that it may not take place then ; and this, be it remembered, is an author who was quoted on the other side. I know not how Mr. Gorham's views could be more clearly expressed.

Another author quoted was Dr. Nicholls on the Book of Common Prayer. I beg leave, in my turn, to refer to him also. I take his comment upon the passage :—

" Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church, let us give thanks unto Almighty God for these benefits."

His comment is this :—

" There have been some very unreasonable exceptions taken against this expression ; as if all persons who were baptized were truly regenerate, whereas several of them prove afterwards very wicked. But this objection is grounded upon a modern notion of the word Regeneration, which neither the ancient Fathers of the Church, nor the compilers of our Liturgy knew anything of. Indeed, some writers of the last century ran into this new-fangled phrase, to denote conversion, or a returning from a lapsed state after a notorious violation of the Baptismal Covenant to an habitual state of holiness. But no ancient writer that I know of, ever expressed this by the word Regeneration. Regeneration, as often as 'tis used in the Scripture Books, signifies the Baptismal Regeneration."

So he makes a distinction between *Baptismal* regeneration and *Spiritual* regeneration. That is his theory. He adds :—

" Regeneration, in the language of the Fathers, constantly signifies the participation of the Sacrament of Baptism."

If it signifies the participation of the Sacrament of Baptism, of course every person baptized is regenerated, and every one regenerate is baptized. If these words are synonymous, that is necessarily so ; but let us go a little

farther. Commenting on the words, "wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven," he says:—

"By being a child of God, is not understood, one that is so by God's creation of him, for by virtue of that relation, he is the common Father of all mankind; nor yet one who is a child of God by spiritual regeneration and actual holiness."

This, he says, is NOT meant; and yet this is an authority quoted for the Bishop's position. A little further on we read:—

"The first qualification (which every person who is to be partaker of the rite of Baptism ought to be endowed with) is repentance. For such person must engage to forsake every known sin, however near and dear to him; to suffer no vicious habit to remain within him, or anything else that is contrary to the commands of his dearest Lord, whose religion he doth then solemnly espouse, resolving wholly to give himself up to his directions."

Then, speaking of faith, he says:—

"The second qualification is faith, and that is to believe all that God has expressly revealed to us in his holy Word. And upon this account it is, that the Church has all along required of persons to be baptized, to give an assent to all the Articles of the Christian faith, by repeating the Creed at the time of their Baptism."

"*Objection.*—But there is an objection against faith and repentance being qualifications for Baptism. For we allow children to be baptized, and yet it is very plain that they neither believe nor repent. *Sol.*—To this we answer, that the sureties of the children promise, that they shall discharge both these duties when they come to a competent age; and this they are obliged to, though they do not actually consent to their sureties' promise; which, as a beneficial act, binds them,—as the acts of a guardian, for the good of his ward, bind such an orphan; and, by being brought into the Christian covenant, by this stipulation of the sureties, they are as much obliged to the performance of the Articles of it, as the Jewish children, who were admitted by circumcision into the Mosaical covenant at eight days old, were tied up to perform the precepts of that law."

Clearly, then, Dr. Nicholls' theory of Infant Baptism may be thus expressed. It effects a change of state, or relationship, but not necessarily of character—which is

directly opposed to the Bishop of Exeter. I have thus gone through some of the leading authorities on the other side, and I have shewn several of them to be diametrically opposed to the principle, which, the Bishop of Exeter says, is the doctrine of the Church of England. They present us with a variety of opinions, for we have had a different theory from each, and we shall find, perhaps, in the course of the investigation, that other accounts of the matter still remain to be noticed; so that the question seems to be one to which of all others the old maxim quoted on the other side, "*quod semper ubique et omnibus*," unfortunately for them, is most peculiarly inapplicable. We have found a continual disagreement up to the Council of Trent confessedly; and since that period the authorities brought forward are all at variance; advocating different schemes and opinions, on a variety of suppositions, according as the difficulties attending the subject were felt to exist: and yet we are gravely told that it is a point of doctrine on which there was never known any difference in the Church, so well settled was it for the first fifteen centuries, and so rightly understood has it been ever since. A statement that any one even tolerably informed, either as an historian or theologian, would be ashamed to make.

I come now to another branch of the subject; and that is, how we are to ascertain what the doctrine of the Church of England actually *is*. Certainly there is room for surprise at the manner in which the question has been treated in this Court. Some authentic authoritative source of the doctrine of the Church of England there surely must be. I find the Bishop of Exeter's Charge full of statements where it is to be obtained; the Prayer-book being put prominently forward there. Here, at least, we might have expected to be told if there were any such thing as an Act of Parliament bearing upon the question; but to his Lordship's advisers it has seemed prudent to take a different course. I must, however, ask a little attention to one or

two Acts of Parliament, as they cannot but be of some authority in determining the point; and of some value in shewing us where to go, if we wish to ascertain the doctrine of the Established Church. Again, no one can look at the Articles of the Church and be in doubt as to their object and design; the heading of them is this:—

“Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the Year 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinion, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion.”

From the time that Articles were first established as of public authority, this same heading has been attached to them. Surely, then, they are the source to which we should naturally, and at once go to find what the doctrine of the Church of England is. If diversity of opinion is to be avoided, or consent to be established, the means are there provided. But the Prayer-book is put forward by the Bishop of Exeter. To this book there is a preface; and in that preface there is the following sentence, not, indeed, referring to the book exactly as it now stands, but as it did stand, prior to the last few alterations made in it:—

“The book, as it stood before established by law, doth not contain in it anything contrary to the Word of God, or to sound doctrine, or which a godly man may not, with a good conscience, use, and submit unto, or which is not fairly defensible against any that shall oppose the same; if it shall be allowed such just and favourable construction, as in common equity ought to be allowed to all human writings; especially such as are set forth by authority, and even to the very best translations of the Holy Scripture itself.”

That passage, indeed, refers to the book as it stood before; but it may well be supposed that those who reviewed the book, and said this of the former edition, did not intend to say less of their own; especially with respect to the point now under consideration of the Court, as to which, I am not aware that any material alterations were introduced. It may be taken, therefore, as a correct description of the whole book, as it now stands. And

surely, Sir, the natural course is this,—if doctrine be anywhere specifically treated of, laid down, and defined; there we must go to ascertain what it is; and thereby the doctrine of the Church of England will be determined.

Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than an attempt to ascertain exact points of doctrine from a Liturgy. A liturgical form of words is not adapted to the purpose; the very position of a prayer (whether it is postponed or prefixed to a particular act), especially with regard to the administration of the other Sacrament, might lead to questions of vital importance to the Church.

A Liturgy is framed for devotional, and not for critical purposes; and if we would use it wisely, we must leave it to do its own proper work, while we search for exact statements of doctrine in their appointed place.

The Articles, I say, are the natural source from which to gather the doctrine of the Church. The dogmatical statement of doctrine is to be found in them, and if we are in search of that, to them we must go. But there are Acts of Parliament familiar to the Court which are decisive of the point, and I will now call its attention to them.

The Act of 1 Eliz. cap. 2, is headed thus:—"For Uniformity of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments." This Act, it is to be observed, was passed before the Articles had been recognised by Parliament—but even this did not purport to bring the Prayer-book forward as the standard of doctrine. The tenor of the Act shews that the object in bringing out the Book of Common Prayer was to secure uniformity of worship. In like manner, the Act of Uniformity, 14 Car. II., cap. 4., requires, that every minister should give his assent "*to the use of the Prayer-book,*" not to any doctrines which a Bishop might think to be inferred from it. And the statute 23 Geo. II., cap. 28, upon the same subject, is exactly to the same effect.

I do not mean to say, that the doctrine of the Church

may not be collected from the Prayer-book; but it was not intended, in the first instance, for any such purpose; and nice doctrinal points cannot therefore reasonably be expected to be determined by it.

Now, if we turn to the 13 Eliz. cap. 12, we find "An Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion." And how is that provided for? The Act confirms the Articles of 1562, headed,—“For the avoiding of diversities of opinion, and establishing consent touching true doctrine.” It begins thus:—

“That the Churches of the Queen’s Majesty’s dominions, may be served with Pastors of sound religion;” and it enacts, “that every Priest, or Minister of God’s holy Word and Sacraments, shall declare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in the Articles agreed to in Convocation in 1562, for the avoiding diversities of opinions, and for establishing consent touching true religion put forth by the Queen’s authority.”

So that, to secure sound religion on doctrinal points, the Clerk is to subscribe the Articles,—and two of the Articles which Mr. Gorham has so subscribed, expressly treat of the subject now before the Court.

The next clause in this Act inflicts the penalty for false doctrine, which is therein defined to be “any doctrine directly contrary or repugnant to any of the said Articles.”

Sir, the reason for this is as obvious as it is sound. There is in the Articles an express declaration of doctrine; and it would be hard indeed to bind a man by that which is not a matter of declaration, but of inference,—of inference which one man may draw of one kind, and another of another kind; and which might, by perverse minds, be turned to a very mischievous purpose.

By the Fifth Section, it is enacted that no man shall be admitted to preach or minister the Sacrament, unless he bring to the Bishop testimonials of honest life, and of his professing doctrines expressed in the said Articles.

And the whole of this statute, the object of which was

expressly to provide Pastors of sound religion, is limited to the Articles. There is not one word in it about the Prayer-book—no mention of it, no allusion to it.

In the 13 and 14 Car. II., a statute was passed well known as the Act of Uniformity. The first section speaks of the revival of the Prayer-book; the second is to this effect:—

“Now, in regard that nothing conduced more to the settling of the peace of this nation (which is desired of all good men), nor to the honour of our religion and propagation thereof, than an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God; and to the intent that every person within this realm may certainly know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship,”—

shewing the object especially in view. It then enacts that the Book of Common Prayer shall be used.

Then, by the third section:—

“To the end, that uniformity in the public worship of God (which is so much desired), may be speedily effected, it is required, that every Parson, Vicar, or other Minister, shall openly, publicly, and solemnly, read the Morning and Evening Prayer, according to the said Book; and openly and publicly before the congregation, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the said Book contained.”

The object of the Act is uniformity in public prayers; and in reference to the Prayer-book, as revived at that time, every minister is to declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things contained in it, and the words in which he is to do so are set forth.

Now, Sir, of course I should not be heard to argue that this did not apply to any man who found a difficulty in yielding assent to the Book of Common Prayer, and therefore could not conscientiously use it;—who might consider that some portion of it was erroneous, and ought to be expunged; but I say, that it has nothing whatever to do with the present case. Mr. Gorham finds no difficulty in the use of this book; he is in the habit of using it constantly. Nothing to the contrary is pretended—and I say that it was not contemplated—

by the framers of the statute, that doctrine would be taken from this book or ascertained by reference to it.

The same expression, the same form of words, declaratory of assent and consent to the use of the Prayer-book, was afterwards copied into the succeeding statute, the 23d of Geo. II., cap. 28. I need not quote from it or refer to it more particularly, because it is precisely in the same language. Thus the law stands: and that it should so stand was the intention of those who drew up the Articles, for it was so declared by the Convocation of 1571, in which they were finally passed. A portion of what we find in the Canons of that Convocation, under the head "CONCIONATORES," was read to the Court; but at an important place in the passage a dead stop was made. I shall pray attention to the whole. It was the Convocation to whom the Articles were last submitted, and just before the passing of the Act of Parliament. The Canon entitled "Concionatores" proceeds in this way:—

"Imprimis vero videbunt nequid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Testamenti quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina catholici patres et veteres episcopi collegerint."

So far the learned Counsel proceeded in reading this Canon; and there he stopped, as if that was all they meant to say; that doctrine was to be collected from what the ancient Fathers said. But how does it go on?

"Et quoniam articuli illi religionis Christianæ in quos consensum est ab episcopis in legitima et sancta synodo jussu atque auctoritate serenissimæ principis Elizabethæ convocata et celebrata, haud dubie collecti sunt ex sacris libris Veteris et Novi Testamenti et cum cœlesti doctrina quæ in illis continetur per omnia congruunt."

Since the Articles are, without doubt, collected from the books of the Old and New Testaments, and agree with their heavenly doctrine.

Now we come to the Book of Common Prayer:—

“Quoniam etiam liber publicarum precum, et liber de inauguratione archiepiscoporum, &c., nihil continent ab illa ipsa doctrina alienum; quicumque mittentur ad docendum populum, illorum Articulorum auctoritatem et fidem, non tantum concionibus suis sed etiam subscriptione confirmabunt.”

This, then, is what the Canon says. First, it puts forward the Holy Scriptures, and says, the Articles are conformable to them; it then adds, “and the Book of Common Prayer contains nothing contrary to the Articles.”

They do not say the Articles contain nothing contrary to the Prayer-book, but the Prayer-book contains nothing contrary to the Articles.

That is what the clergy of the day themselves thought and determined in the very Convocation wherein the Articles were finally reviewed and settled.

The Canons of the Convocations of 1585 and 1597 lead to the same result, as far as they go. They require, as testimonials of faith and doctrine, the subscription of the clergy to the Articles, and their being able to declare their faith according to the Articles in the Latin language. I need not trouble the Court further on that head, as there are other considerations behind of more importance. I will, therefore, turn to inquire what course was pursued when error had unfortunately sprung up in the Church,—when persons arose who disputed the doctrine of the Trinity, or attempted to introduce strange opinions respecting it. It was at these periods deemed sufficient for the Crown to send directions to the Archbishops and Bishops, to call for and enforce subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and to see that the doctrines taught by the clergy were in accordance with them. I have here some of these directions, which will be found in Dr. Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, and also in the “*Clergyman's Assistant*,” published in 1828. The first to which I refer the Court was in the year 1695: it is entitled, “Direc-

tions to Our Archbishops and Bishops for the preservation of unity in the Church, and the purity of the Christian faith concerning the Holy Trinity :”—

“Most Reverend and Right Reverend Fathers in God, we greet you well. Whereas we are given to understand, that there have of late been some differences among the clergy of this our realm about their ways of expressing themselves in their sermons and writings concerning the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, which may be of dangerous consequence, if not timely prevented; we therefore, out of our princely care and zeal for the preservation of the peace and unity of the Church, together with the purity of the Christian faith, have thought fit to send you these following directions, which we straitly charge and command you to publish, and to see that they be observed within our several dioceses.

“1. That no preacher whatsoever, in his sermon or lecture, do presume to deliver any other doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity than what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, and is agreeable to the three Creeds and the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.”

This was thought sufficient at that time. Similar directions were given in the reign of George I. (September, 1714). And in the year 1721 we have also a similar set of directions, enjoining that no preacher in his sermon “shall presume to deliver any other doctrine than is contained in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.” I say, then, the sufficiency of the Articles has been attested by use.

The commentators upon the Articles have also held them to be sufficient; for they unanimously declare that in them we are to seek for the doctrine of the Church of England. The book from which I will first quote is Rogers on the Thirty-nine Articles. He was Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft; a person of no small consideration on a question of this kind. He says, in his preface at the 17th section,—

“Those very decrees of our bishops and Articles of the Convocation-house, *even* that little, little part of the Gospel which the said bishops and martyrs brought to light and hath enlightened the whole realm, containeth the very fundamental points of Christianity.”

And more strongly still in Section 35:—

“The purpose of our Church is best known by the doctrine which she doth profess; the doctrine by the Thirty-nine Articles established by Act of Parliament; the Articles by the words whereby they are expressed: and other purpose than the publick doctrine doth minister, and other doctrine than in the said Articles is contained, our Church neither hath nor holdeth; and other sense they cannot yield than their words do import. The words be the same, and none other, than erst and the first they were; and, therefore, the sense the same, the Articles the same, the doctrine the same, and the purpose and intention of our Church still one and the same.”

The Articles are, therefore, a sufficient standard of doctrine. By them, as Rogers has also well said, the purpose of our Church is best known.

Bishop Burnet says, at the opening of the preface to his work on the Thirty-Nine Articles:—

“They are the sum of our doctrine, and the confession of our faith.”

Burnet, however, as it appears to me, has been treated as unfairly as some of the other authors, who have been quoted; for a passage of his, from the latter part of his “Remarks on the Seventeenth Article,” has been adduced, as if he held opinions contrary to those which I am endeavouring to maintain on this point. In that part of his work, after having stated the different views entertained by different parties, upon the doctrines treated of in the Seventeenth Article, but without deciding between them, at page 221, he says:—

“Thus the one side argues, that the Article, as it lies, in the plain meaning of those who conceived it, does very expressly establish their doctrine; and the other argues, from those cautions that are added to it, that it ought to be understood, so as that it may agree with these cautions: and both sides find in the Article itself such grounds, that they reckon they do not renounce their opinions by subscribing it. The remonstrant side have this farther to add, that the universal extent of the death of Christ seems to be very plainly affirmed in the most solemn part of all the offices of the Church: for, in the office of Communion, and in the Prayer of Consecration, we own, that Christ, *by the one oblation of himself once offered, made there a full, perfect,*

and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world. Though the others say, that by *full, perfect, and sufficient*, is not to be understood that Christ's death was intended to be a complete sacrifice and satisfaction for *the whole world*, but that in its own value it was capable of being such. This is thought too great a stretch put upon the words. And there are yet more express words in our Church Catechism to this purpose, which is to be considered as the most solemn declaration of the sense of the Church, since that is the doctrine in which she instructs all her children."

So that he is not (as it was stated) giving his own view upon the value of the Liturgy, or Catechism, in determining matters of doctrine; but is simply summing up, in the few words I have read, the arguments used by the two parties, to whom he had previously adverted with respect to the doctrinal points treated of in the Seventeenth Article.

Bishop Hall, a very eminent Prelate of our Church, in his "Olde Religion," thus speaks of the Articles:—

"The Church of England, in whose motherhood wee have all just cause to pride our selves, hath, in much wisdom and pietie delivered her judgement concerning all necessarie points of Religion, in so compleat a body of Divinitie, as all hearts may rest in: These wee reade, these we write under, as professing not their truth onely, but their sufficiencie also. The voice of God our Father in his Scriptures, and (out of these) the voice of the Church our Mother in her Articles, is that which must both guide and settle our resolutions: Whatsoever is besides these, is but either private, or unnecessarie, and uncertaine."

There is also another passage, with which I shall trouble the Court on this point. It is taken from Archbishop Whitgift's "Defence of the Answer to the Admonition." In the preface, addressing himself to the godly reader, he opens in this way:—

"It were but a needless labor to make any particular recital of those points of doctrine which the Church of England at this day doth hold and maintain, for they be at large set out in sundry English books, and especially in the 'Apology of the Church of England, and the Defence of the same;' *summarily also collected together in the 'Book of Articles,'* agreed upon in the Convocation at London, anno 1562."

In the Dedication to "Fasciculus Controversiarum Theologicarum," by Bishop Prideaux, there is the following passage :—

"*Doctrina, Cultus, et Disciplina*, in qualibet recte instituta Ecclesia, ab omnibus suis symmistis religiosissime semper sunt respicienda. *Doctrinæ syntazin* in XXXIX. *Articulis, Cultum in Liturgicis, Disciplinam in Canonibus*, a limpidissimis antiquitatis fontibus, pie, provide, et prudenter, præcipue per Episcopos Reformatos consignatam accepimus."

There is also a passage, not unimportant, in Stillingfleet's "Unreasonableness of Separation," Part II. sec. i. He says :—

"And even Mr. A—, after many trifling cavils, acknowledges— 'That the Dissenters generally agree with that book which is commonly called the "Thirty-nine Articles," which was compiled above a hundred years ago, and this book some men call the Church of England.' I know not who those men are, or by what figure they speak, who call a book a Church ; BUT THIS WE ALL SAY, THAT THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IS CONTAINED THEREIN ; AND WHATEVER THE OPINIONS OF PRIVATE PERSONS MAY BE, THIS IS THE STANDARD BY WHICH THE SENSE OF OUR CHURCH IS TO BE TAKEN."

These are testimonies, shewing that the Articles have, at all times, been considered and treated as sufficient for the purpose for which they were framed, and which the Legislature, in requiring subscription to them, had in view, viz., the preserving of sound doctrine in the Church of England.

I have stated to the Court that there are lines of demarcation with respect to Baptism, as I conceive pointed out in the Articles, which may not be transgressed ; and all that the writers of eminence in the Church have said about it will be found tending to the same result. To avoid resting this observation entirely upon my own suggestion, I will call the Court's attention to "Burnet on the Twenty-fifth Article," page 334, Oxford Edition, where, after the passage stating that

Article to be, in effect, the same as the corresponding one of Edward VI., he says:—

“There are two extremes to be avoided in this matter. The one is of the Church of Rome, that teaches, that as some Sacraments imprint a character upon the soul, which they define to be a physical quality, that is, supernatural and spiritual, so they do all carry along with them such a divine virtue, that by the very receiving (*the opus operatum*), it is conveyed to the souls of those to whom they are applied; unless they themselves put a bar in the way of it by some mortal sin. In consequence of this, they reckon that by the Sacraments given to a man in his agonies, though he is very near past all sense, and so cannot join any lively acts of his mind with the Sacraments, yet he is justified; not to mention the common practice of giving extreme unction in the last agony, when no appearance of any sense is left. This we reckon a doctrine that is not only without all foundation in Scripture, but that tends to destroy all religion, and to make men live on securely in sin, trusting to this, that the Sacraments may be given them when they die. The conditions of the New Covenant are repentance, faith, and obedience; and we look on this as the corrupting the vitals of this religion, when any such means are proposed by which the main design of the Gospel is quite overthrown.”

Then he says:—

“When a person of age desires Baptism, he must make those answers and sponsions, otherwise he is not truly baptized; and though his outward making of them being all that can fall under human cognizance, he who does that must be held to be truly baptized, and all the outward privileges of a baptized person must belong to him; yet as to the effect of Baptism on the soul of him that is baptized; without doubt that depends upon the sincerity of the professions and vows made by him. The wills of infants are, by the law of nature and nations, in their parents, and are transferred by them to their sureties; the sponsions that are made on their behalf are considered as made by themselves.”

Bishop Burnet, therefore, does precisely what Mr. Gorham does; he interprets the matter in regard to infants upon the same principle which he applies to adults.

At page 336, he says:—

“The other extreme that we likewise avoid, is that of sinking the

Sacraments so low as to be mere rites and ceremonies. St. Peter says, '*Baptism saves us:*' St. Paul calls it the '*laver of regeneration,*' to which he joins the '*renewing of the Holy Ghost.*' Our Saviour saith, '*He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved;*' and '*except ye are born again of water and of the Spirit, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*' These words have a sense and signification that rises far above a mere ceremony, done to keep up order and to maintain a settled form."

Mr. Gorham holds that Baptism is far above a mere ceremony to keep up order, or a settled form, or anything of the kind. He holds that, when worthily received, it is a channel of blessing; and with regard to infants, he reverts to the same hypothesis that Burnet does, namely, that their profession of faith puts them, as far as the Church possibly can put them, in the same condition with adults, respecting whom there is no difference of opinion between us.

It will be necessary now to go at some length, I fear, (but that is not my fault,) into an authority of very great weight in all that relates to this subject. I mean Archbishop Cranmer, who has been already brought before the Court, and commented upon, under the Bishop of Exeter's guidance, with singular inaccuracy, on the other side. It was said that he drew up the Articles of 1552, which are synonymous with those of 1562, and 1571; and for all the purposes of this argument, I need not deny the proposition. But then it was added, in words which sounded strangely to my ears—that Cranmer never changed his doctrines at all in respect to Baptism. I find the same statement made in the Bishop of Exeter's Charge; where I should have been extremely surprised to find it, had it not already sufficiently appeared that many of the statements made by his Counsel, however erroneous, had been, in point of fact, founded upon this Charge. I think that after the error I am now about to expose, we must not have any more questions raised as to *mistakes*. The statement on the other side is, that Cranmer never changed his opinions,

he never altered; and that to whatever period of his history we refer, we find him still the same. Why, Sir, is it not a notorious fact that Cranmer was born in Roman Catholic times; that he was bred up a Roman Catholic; and that he at one time held and maintained all the dogmas of the Church of Rome? And is it not notorious, that when the light of the Reformation came to this country, it was cherished by Cranmer? That all the acts of the Reformation proceeded under his fostering care? When we come to the fact (for I will bring the matter home now), that a difference existed between the Reformed doctrine and that of Rome upon this very point; that the Articles of 1552 did, in terms, protest against the *opus operatum*, it would be strange, indeed, to find that Cranmer had never altered his views with respect to the doctrine of Baptism. I know not whence those deeply-read historians and theologians borrowed the idea (perhaps from Mr. Davidson's pamphlet), I can only say that it was with the utmost surprise that I heard the statement made. I will now come to the proof. For this purpose I take, first, the Articles of 1536, and that there may be no cavil or mistake, I will quote from the Formularies of Faith, which were used on the other side.

These, then, are the very Articles from which it is said that Cranmer never varied. At page 19, under the head "The Sacrament of Baptism," we read:—

"By the Sacrament of Baptism they (infants, innocents, and children) do also OBTAIN remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God."

I pray the Court's attention to the word OBTAIN, because the whole enunciation of the doctrine contained in the passage lies in that one word.

Now, comparing that with the Articles of 1552; let us see if the doctrine is identical.

"The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon or carried about; but that we should rightly use them. And in such

only as worthily receive the same they have an wholesome effect and operation; and yet not that of the work wrought, as some men speak, which word, as it is strange and unknown to Holy Scripture, so it gendereth no godly, but a very superstitious sense."

Not a word about this in 1536; the phraseology and the doctrine are entirely different. And this is Cranmer, who never changed his opinion! Why, any one conversant with the subject must see that in the one case he is maintaining Roman Catholic doctrine, against which the Church of England protested in 1552; in the other, he is maintaining the doctrine which the Church held in 1552: and yet he is the person who never changed.

The Twenty-eighth is precisely of the same character. That Article has not been varied subsequently to 1552, and I need not read it to the Court. It holds precisely the same language, and scrupulously avoids the use of the word "obtain," or any word of like signification; and in plain opposition to any such doctrine, introduces the words, "they that receive Baptism rightly," in them faith is confirmed and grace increased.

Sir, it does unfortunately happen for the other side, also, that the Article of 1536 is equally at variance with the "*Reformatio Legum*," a book drawn up in the latter part of the reign of Edward VI., just about the time that the Articles were put forth; and a work on which we know that Cranmer bestowed great attention. It does, unfortunately, happen for the Bishop that that work, speaking "De Baptismo," in chap. xviii. says:—

"Deinde crudelis illorum impietas in Baptismum irruit, quem infantibus impartiri nolunt, sed omnino nulla ratione. Nec enim minùs ad Deum et Ecclesiam pertinent Christianorum infantes, quàm liberi quondam Hebræorum pertinebant, quibus in infantia cùm circumcisio adhiberetur, nostris etiam infantibus debet Baptismus admoveri, quoniam ejusdem promissionis et fœderis divini participes sunt, et à Christo sunt etiam summa cum humanitate suscepti. Plures item ab aliis cumulantur errores in Baptismo, quem aliqui sic attoniti spectant, ut ab ipso illo externo credant elemento Spiritum Sanctum emergere, vimque ejus, nomen, et virtutem ex qua

recreamur, et gratiam, et reliqua ex eo proficiencia dona in ipsis Baptismi fonticulis innatare. In summa totam regenerationem nostram illi sacro puteo debere volunt, qui in sensus nostros incurrit. Verum salus animarum, instauratio spiritus, et beneficium adoptionis, quo nos Deus pro filiis agnoscit, à misericordia divina per Christum ad nos dimanante, tùm etiam ex promissione sacris in Scripturis apparente proveniunt. Illorum etiam impia videri debet scrupulosa superstitio, qui Dei gratiam et Spiritum Sanctum tantopere cum Sacramentorum elementis colligant, ut planè affirment nullum Christianorum infantem æternam salutem esse consequuturum, qui prius à morte fuerit occupatus, quam ad Baptismum adduci potuerit; quod longè secus habere iudicamus. Salus enim illis solùm adimitur qui sacrum hunc Baptismi fontem contemnunt aut superbia quadem ab eo, vel contumacia resiliunt: quæ importunitas cum in puerorum ætatem non cadat, nihil contra salutem illorum auctoritate Scripturarum decerni potest, immo contra, cùm illos communis promissio pueros in se comprehendat, optima nobis spes de illorum salute concipienda est."

Under the head, "De Sacramentis. 1. Quid sit Sacramentum," we have also these words:—

"Sacramentum (quomodo nos illud in hoc loco capimus) *signum* est institutum à Deo quod videri potest, quo gratia Christi promissis et meritis ad nos profecta condonatioque; peccatorum ipsis remissorum expressa consignatur quod duplicem in animis nostris vim habet

• • • • •
deinde fidem acuit, et exuscitat, et illi robur addit. . . ."

And again, "3. Quid sit Baptismus," these words occur:—

"Baptismus est Sacramentum, quo secunda generatio nostra nobis externa consignatur conspersione, veniaque peccatorum indulgetur et Spiritus Sancti virtus infunditur, quemadmodum verbis comprehensum est in Baptismo propositis, ut erectior in nobis et perfectior esset fides."

Thus, on the points which particularly bear on the present question, we have two statements from Cranmer, the latter directly in the teeth of the former. I must again say, that if the assertion had been made only in Court by the Bishop's Counsel, I should not so much have wondered at it; but to read it in the Charge of a Bishop,

as delivered again and again to the clergy throughout his diocese, and advisedly printed and published to the world, may well excite one's surprise.

But I shall take the liberty of acquainting the Court yet a little more fully with Cranmer's writings; because the further we go the more we shall be satisfied that what Mr. Gorham says is correct, viz., that as the light of truth came in at the Reformation, and as his mind was receiving it, so there was a gradual change, a clearing away of first one error and then another, and, among them, of some on this very point.

I now refer to the "Institution of a Christian Man," known as the Bishops' Book; and, by a strange coincidence, there was a MISTAKE here too. This was called, on the other side, the *King's Book*; whereas, the "*Institution of a Christian Man*" was the Bishops' Book: the "*Necessary Doctrine*" was the *King's Book*; respecting which latter work Cranmer complained that it was forced upon him; and afterwards, in his contest with Gardiner, he refused to be made answerable for it.

Having corrected that mistake, I now call the attention of the Court to the *Bishops' own Book*, which they themselves got up, which was afterwards in use,—called, as I have said, "The Institution of a Christian Man;" not meaning to say that we can gather Cranmer's *maturé* views from this work, for it is certain that we cannot (as Bishop Lloyd himself states, in his preface to the "Formularies of Faith"); but we shall see that even then his views of doctrine had, in many respects, undergone a considerable change since the first Articles of 1536 were framed. I merely call attention to it to shew the sort of expressions he then employed (page 31):—

"And I believe also and profess that he is my very God, my Lord, and my Father, and that I am his servant and his own son, by adoption and grace, and the right inheritor of his kingdom; and that it proceedeth and cometh of his mere goodness only, without all my desert."

And again, at page 40:—

“ And I believe that, by this passion and death of our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only my corporal death is so destroyed that it shall never have power to hurt me, but rather it is made wholesome and profitable unto me,—but also that all my sins, and the sins also of all them that do believe in him and follow him, be mortified and dead.

The book is full of passages of this description; I cite the above only to shew the tenor of it. The expressions are strong; but the language obviously is used to describe the state in which, according to the opinion of Cranmer and his associates, a man should rightly be. Similar language occurs to such an extent that it would be useless to trouble the Court with it, but at page 54, another idea is introduced:—

“ And I believe, assuredly, that in this holy Church, and with the members of the same (so long as they be militant and living here in earth), there have been ever, and yet be, and ever shall be, joined and mingled together an infinite number of the evil and wicked people, which, although they be indeed the very members of the congregation of the wicked, and, as the Gospel calleth them, very weeds and chaff, evil fish and goats, and shall finally be judged to everlasting damnation; yet, forasmuch as they do live in the common society or company of those which be the very quick and living members of Christ's mystical body, and outwardly do profess, receive, and consent with them for a season, in the doctrine of the Gospel and in the right using of the Sacraments, yea, and oftentimes be endued with right excellent gifts of the Holy Ghost, they be to be accounted and reputed here in this world, to be in the number of the said very members of Christ's mystical body, so long as they be not by open sentence of excommunication precided and excluded from the same. Not because they be such members in very deed, but because the certain judgment and knowledge of that their state is by God's ordinance hidden and kept secret from all men, and shall not be revealed until the time that Christ himself shall come at the world's end, and there shall manifest and declare his very kingdom, and who be the very true members of his body and who be not.”

And again, at page 56:—

“ And I believe, and trust assuredly, that I am one of the members of this Catholic Church, and that God of his only mercy hath not only chosen and called me thereunto by his Holy Spirit, and by the efficacy of his Word and Sacraments, and hath inserted and united me into

this universal body, or flock, and hath made me his son and inheritor of his kingdom, but also, that he shall, of his like goodness, and by the operation of the Holy Ghost, justify me here in this world, and finally glorify me in heaven."

The Court cannot fail to see that this quite coincides with the remarks I made regarding the doctrine of Election, which one of the Articles purposely leaves open. If these were the views of Cranmer, and those who were acting with him, I argue, that still more strongly might we expect to find a corresponding latitude with respect to the doctrine of Baptism.

When we come to "The Necessary Doctrine," we find that all the passages which I have pointed out, as expressive of the faith of the individual, are very greatly curtailed, and, indeed, almost entirely struck out.

So much, then, for those works of Cranmer which have been principally brought under the attention of the Court. Another has been adverted to, namely, "Cranmer's Catechism," which is not however his, though it bears his name, for it is a translation from the German, by Justus Jonas, which Cranmer only allowed to be published under his authority, in 1548. At page 121, we read:—

"Now, the Holy Ghost ever hath by this word on this fashion,—first, he that believeth the Gospel and receiveth the doctrine of Christ, is made the Son of God, as St. John witnesseth in his Gospel. As many as receive him he hath given them power to be made the children of God. For when we believe in Christ and are baptized, then we be born again, and are made 'the children of God.'"

Subsequently, in speaking of Baptism, at page 186, we find:—

"Hitherto you have heard what we promise to God when we are baptized; now learn also, I pray you, what God worketh in us by Baptism, and what benefits he giveth us in the same; for Baptism is not water alone, and nothing else besides, but it is the water of God, and hath his strength by the Word of God, and is a SEAL of God's promise."

The Court sees how different the language is. It is no

longer *obtain*; on the contrary, *seal* is the word adopted here. He then proceeds to enumerate the effects of Baptism as the work of God. It is not necessary to recite the passage at length, for it is immaterial to my purpose. At page 188, is a passage which is not in *itself* remarkable, but which becomes so on account of the interpolation of three words. In the translation from the Latin, at page 160, the Latin is given us thus:—

“Præterea is qui est peccator etiam si habet Spiritum Sanctum,”

and so on. But in the English translation the passage is rendered as follows:—“Furthermore, he that is a sinner, ‘*and not baptized*,’ although he have the Holy Ghost to this effect to help him to fight against sin, yet oftentimes he is overcome and falleth to sin.” By this interpolation, as the Court sees, Cranmer went out of his way to suggest, as a possible case, a person having the Holy Ghost to help him against sin, and yet not being baptized. I say, that he went out of his way, and shews by the interpolation of those words that his mind entertained the idea of the possible separation of the spiritual blessing from the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptism.

In further proof of the same fact, I will next call the attention of the Court to the Liturgy of Edward VI., on Public Baptism (I quote from the Parker Society’s Edition.) The words are very strong:—

“Then shall the Priest demand of the child (which shall [is to] be first baptized), these questions following” (page 331).

It is a remarkable expression, inasmuch as the child could not answer, and there were two sponsors there present to answer for him. But the words are, that he is to “demand of the child,” and each successive answer is set forth as by the child, shewing how strong the impression was in the minds of the framers of the Liturgy, that the profession of faith should be considered as coming from the child itself.

So, in the Service of Private Baptism, when the infants

are brought into the Church and a profession is to be made for them, the question is (page 339):—

“Dost thou forsake the devil and all his works?—*Answer.* I forsake them.”

Thus the words are put into the mouth of the child, although necessarily spoken by another in his stead, to make it as clearly and strongly as possible the act of the child.

I now come to the Catechism of Edward VI., (1553), prefixed to which is an injunction “by the King our Sovereign Lord,” beginning thus:—

“When there was presented unto us, to be perused, a short and plain order of Catechism, written by a certain godly and learned man, we committed the debating and diligent examination thereof to certain Bishops,” &c.

And then, agreeably to their opinion, at page 501, we have this question:—

“*Master.* Why dost thou call God Father?—*Scholar.* For two causes: the one that he made us all at the beginning, and gave life unto us all: the other is more weighty; for, that by his Holy Spirit, and by faith, He hath begotten us again, making us his children, giving us his kingdom and the inheritance of life everlasting.”

And, subsequently, at page 511, in the answer of the scholar, there are words shewing that the doctrine of election, which I pointed out so strongly in the former writings of Cranmer, or, at least, in which he had a very large hand, was still maintained by him. These words are put in the mouth of the scholar:—

“But, as many as are in this faith stedfast were forechosen, predestinate, and appointed out, to everlasting life before the world was made.”

There are other passages of the same class, which, if time permitted, I should gladly quote; but I will come to one more immediately concerning Baptism (at page 516). The master says:—

“Tell me (my son) how these two Sacraments be ministered,

Baptism, and that which Paul calleth the Supper of the Lord.—*Scholar.* Him that believeth in Christ, professeth the Articles of the Christian Religion, and mindeth to be baptized, (I speak now of them that be grown to ripe years of discretion, sith for the young babes their parents or the Church's professions sufficeth,) the Minister dippeth in, or washeth with, pure and clean water only, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and then commendeth him by prayer to God, into whose Church he is now *openly*, as it were, enrolled, that it may please God to grant him his grace, whereby he may answer in belief and life, agreeably to his profession." Shewing clearly what was in their mind with respect to infants, making no distinction;—in regard to them, their parents or the Church's profession sufficeth. But a profession there, as well as in other cases, was deemed necessary.

The statement I have now read corresponds precisely with the expressions before recited. There it was said: "By faith he hath begotten us." Here life is introduced by faith—not by Baptism. Yet is not Baptism treated as a mere empty sign; for there follows, at page 517,—

"*Master.* What does Baptism REPRESENT AND SET BEFORE OUR EYES?—*Scholar.* That we are the Spirit of Christ, new-born, and cleansed from sin; that we be members, and parts of his Church, received into the communion of saints; for water signifieth the Spirit. Baptism is also a *figure* of our burial in Christ, and that we shall be raised up again with Him in a new life."

This it *represents*, and *sets before* our eyes—differing widely from what Cranmer originally held, when he spoke of what Baptism "OBTAINED."

At the risk even of being tedious, I must proceed with some further references to Cranmer, with a view to a right understanding of what his views were, and when and how developed: for they are important, considering the prominent part he took in the Reformation; how much is attributed to him; and how convenient it would be to make good, on behalf of the Bishop of Exeter, the astounding statement, that Cranmer's views on Baptism had never changed.

I am about to quote some passages from his Treatise on the Sacraments (Parker Society Edition), beginning with—what should never be forgotten in reading his works—the explanation he has given of the terms he uses. Much of Cranmer's language, like that of Jewell, would else be ambiguous; but with the reasonable aid of his own explanation, we have his true idea:—

“First, this word ‘Sacrament’ I do sometimes use, (as it is many times taken among writers and holy doctors,) for the sacramental bread, water, or wine; as when they say that *Sacramentum est sacræ rei signum*, ‘a Sacrament is the sign of an holy thing.’ But where I use to speak sometimes (as the old authors do) that Christ is in the Sacraments, I mean the same as they did understand the matter; that is to say, not of Christ's carnal presence in the outward Sacrament, but sometimes of his sacramental presence. And sometimes by this word ‘sacrament’ I mean the whole ministration and receiving of the Sacraments, either of Baptism or of the Lord's Supper.”

This, I say, is important, because many passages require us to understand that he sometimes uses the term “Baptism,” or “Sacrament of Baptism,” in this extended sense, meaning the whole administration and receiving of the Sacrament. He adds—

“And so the old writers many times do say, that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the Sacraments, not meaning by that manner of speech that Christ and the Holy Ghost be present in the water, bread, or wine, (which be only the outward visible sacraments,) but that in the due ministration of the Sacraments, according to Christ's ordinance and institution, Christ and his Holy Spirit be truly and indeed present by their mighty and sanctifying power, virtue, and grace, in all them that worthily receive the same.”

This is the very doctrine which he states in the Articles of 1552.

“Present by mighty and sanctifying power in all them THAT WORTHILY RECEIVE THE SAME.”

That is from the preface; and in the Treatise itself (at page 47) we read:—

“For in water, bread, and wine, he is present, as in signs and Sacraments; but he is indeed spiritually in those faithful Christian

people, which, according to Christ's ordinance, be baptized or receive the holy communion, or unfeignedly believe in him. Thus have you heard the second principal Article, wherein the Papists vary from the truth of God's word, and from the Catholic faith."

These are memorable words :—

"Present as in signs and sacraments always ; but *spiritually* in those that unfeignedly believe."

In his third book "Of the Presence of Christ," page 124, there is this passage :—

"To believe is nothing else but to have faith ; and therefore when we answer for young children in their Baptism that they believe, which have not yet the mind to believe, we answer that they have faith, because they have the sacrament of faith."

For the Sacrament of Baptism strengthens and confirms faith. Then, after quoting from the apostle, "By Baptism we be buried with him into death," he adds :—

"So that the sacrament of so great a thing is not called but by the name of the thing itself"

"But so they be called, because they be figures, sacraments, and representations of the things themselves, which they signify, and whereof they bear the names."

In page 146, speaking of the presence of Christ, he says :—

"Think you that Simon Magus was not in as great damnation for the unworthy receiving of Baptism, as Judas was for the unworthy receiving of the Lord's Supper ? And yet you will not say that Christ is really and corporally in the water, but that the washing in the water is an outward signification and figure, declaring what God worketh inwardly in them that truly be baptized."

At page 148 he adds :—

"Like as in Baptism, Christ and the Holy Ghost be not in the water, or font ; but be given in the ministration, or to them that be truly baptized in the water."

Again, at page 199 :—

"For although he say that Christ is the spiritual meat, yet as in Baptism, the Holy Ghost is not in the water, but in him that is unfeignedly baptized ; so Damascene meant not that Christ is in the bread, but in him that worthily eateth the bread."

In all these passages, and there are many to the same

effect, the distinction between the recipients of the Sacrament is plainly marked.

At page 221 he says:—

“Therefore as in Baptism those that come feignedly, and those that come unfeignedly, both be washed with the sacramental water, but both be not washed with the Holy Ghost, and clothed with Christ,” &c.

Again, at page 304, we have these words:—

“As Baptism is no perfect Sacrament of spiritual regeneration, without there be as well the element of water as the Holy Ghost, spiritually regenerating the person that is baptized, which is signified by the said water,” &c.

A form of words plainly chosen for the express purpose of shewing that the two parts of the Sacrament do not necessarily concur in its administration.

He then goes on to argue regarding the Lord's Supper, with which I need not trouble the Court. But I add one passage from page 373, where, answering Dr. Smith's preface, he says:—

“As in Baptism we come not unto the water as we come to other, common, waters, when we wash our hands, or bathe our bodies; but we know that it is a mystical water, admonishing us of the great and manifold mercies of God towards us, of the league and promise made between him and us, and of his wonderful working and operation in us: wherefore we come to that water with such fear, reverence, and humility, as we would come to the presence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and of Jesus Christ himself, both God and man, although he be not corporally in the water, but in heaven above: and whosoever cometh to that water, being of the age of discretion, must examine himself duly, lest if he come unworthily, none otherwise than he would come unto other, common, waters, he be not renewed in Christ, but instead of salvation receive his damnation; even so it is of the bread and wine in the Lord's holy supper.”

The passages which I have now quoted from different works of Cranmer, shew, I think, sufficiently, and beyond all doubt, that his tenets did not remain the same, as has been stated on the other side. They altered materially, they altered vitally; that material, that vital alteration corresponding precisely with the change of phraseology to

be found in the Articles drawn up by him, in 1552, from that which is adopted in the Articles of 1536.

There are yet two passages bearing on Cranmer's change of opinion which remain to be adduced. They are his own writing, and fix beyond dispute the point for which I now contend. The first will be found in his work on the Lord's Supper; the answer to Smith's preface. (Parker Society Edition, p. 374):—

"But this I confess of myself, that not long before I wrote the said Catechism,* I was in that error of the real presence, as I was many years past in *divers other errors*: as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the Mass, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitions and errors, that came from Rome, being brought up from youth in them, and noursled therein for lack of good instruction from my youth; the outrageous floods of Papistical errors at that time overflowing the world. For the which, and other mine offences in youth, I do daily pray unto God for mercy and pardon, saying, 'Good Lord, remember not mine ignorances and offences of my youth.' But after it pleased God to shew unto me, by his holy word, a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, *from time to time*, as I grew in knowledge of him, by *little and little*, I put away my former ignorance. And as God of his mercy gave me light, so, through his grace, I opened mine eyes to receive it, and did not wilfully repugn unto God, and remain in darkness. And I trust in God's mercy and pardon for my former errors, because I erred but of frailness and ignorance. And now I may say of myself, as St. Paul said, 'When I was like a babe, or child, in the knowledge of Christ, I spake like a child, and understood like a child; but now that I come to man's estate, and growing in Christ, through his grace and mercy, I have put away that childishness.'"

The second of the passages to which I referred will be found at page 218 of the volume published by the Parker Society, entitled, "Remains."

Martin, taunting him with these changes, says:—

"From a Lutheran you became a Zwinglian, which is the vilest heresy of all in the high mystery of the Sacrament," &c.

To which Cranmer answers:—

"I grant that then I believed otherwise than I do now, and so I did

* Of Justus Jonas, in 1548.

until my Lord of London, Doctor Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of Doctors drew me quite from my opinion."

That there was a change in Cranmer's sentiments, Cranmer is himself the witness; and it only remains to class the observation made in ridicule of Mr. Gorham's statement—that Cranmer grew in the light of Divine truth—among the many other strange assertions that have been made in this case.

Before I proceed further, I would make one general remark, which is applicable to the greater part of the earlier quotations made by the Advocates for the Bishop on the other side. It is, that these ancient writers, speaking of Baptism generally, are by no means opposed to Mr. Gorham's doctrine. For, barring the poetical Bishop Paulinus's gross representation of the regenerating effect of baptismal water; and some of that figurative and metaphorical expression employed by other writers to set forth this Sacrament of Baptism, and which are, after all, mere rhetorical flourishes; Mr. Gorham does not, nor, as I believe, would any of those authors, whom I shall presently introduce to the attention of the Court, take objection to any language expressive of the blessings attached to Baptism, *i.e.*, restricting it to the cases respecting which they predicate that the spiritual blessings are actually received.

The acknowledgment of the blessings is common to both sides; but this leaves unresolved the real question between us, *viz.*, whether these blessings are or are not received in ALL cases. It is admitted by the other side that no one detracts from the grace of the Sacrament by saying that such expressions do not necessarily apply to every individual adult who is baptized; and it must also be admitted that when Mr. Gorham affirms, in respect of infants, that such expressions do not, necessarily, and in every case, apply to them, he is not thereby detracting

from the grace belonging to the Sacrament of Baptism. Expressions used in relation to Baptism in the abstract have, therefore, no bearing on the question before the Court; and this remark will dispose of a variety of quotations, and the arguments built upon them, which we have heard from the other side.

And now, Sir, I ask this simple question:—When the change in Cranmer's views, of which I have spoken, had taken place, and he resolutely set about his great work of reformation in England, whom did he select to assist him in it? We have heard a great deal of Cranmer, but no notice whatever has been, as yet, taken of his associates. The matter has been treated as if Cranmer were an isolated person, without friend, associate, or coadjutor. Passages have been thus quoted from his works; which were followed by an attempt to seize upon Jewell (with what success we have partly seen already, and shall see more fully by and by); and then we were at once transferred to Hooker; no other or intermediate authority being named. So the argument stands on the other side.

I shall endeavour to supply the gap, by shewing whom Cranmer called to his assistance in the work of reformation when he engaged in it.

The first passage which I take is from his own work "On the Lord's Supper," Vol. I., page 374. He is asked respecting Peter Martyr, a name that we have not yet had introduced to us at all, and he says:—

"Of M. Peter Martyr's opinion and judgment in this matter, no man can better testify than I: forasmuch as he lodged within my house long before he came to Oxford, and I had with him many conferences in that matter, and know that he was then of the same mind that he is now, and as he defended after openly in Oxford, and hath written in his book."

So that Cranmer was intimate with him, and had ample opportunity of knowing Peter Martyr's views.

I refer next to Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, Book ii.,

page 194. The chapter is headed thus—"The Archbishop Entertains Learned Foreigners:"—

"The Archbishop had now in his family," says Strype, "several learned men : Martin Bucer, a man of great learning and moderation, and who bore a great part in the Reformation of Germany. While he and the rest abode under his roof, the Archbishop still employed them sometimes in learned conferences, and consultations held with them, sometimes in writing their judgments upon some subjects in divinity. Here Bucer wrote to the Lady Elizabeth a letter bearing date the 6th of the Calends of September, commending her study in piety and learning, and exciting her to proceed therein; incited so to do, I make no doubt, by the Archbishop, whom Bucer in that Letter makes mention of and styleth, '*patrem suum et benignissimum hospitem.*'"

Others are enumerated as being then at the Archbishop's house; among them A. Lasco and Peter Martyr. In the next page we read:—

"Peter Martyr, coming about the beginning of the year 1549 into the University of Oxford, his first readings were upon the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians."

A little after, we have an account from Strype of the first occasion of Bucer's call into England:—

"Bucer and Fagius," he says, "were honourably invited into England by repeated letters of the Lord Protector and Archbishop Cranmer, and by them were nominated public professors in the University of Cambridge—the one of Divinity, the other of the Hebrew tongue. This was looked on by their friends as a notable piece of God's good providence; that when these two eminent champions of the true religion were in so much present danger in Germany, so seasonable a refuge was provided for them elsewhere. They both arrived safe in England in the end of April, *and abode with the Archbishop above a quarter of a year*; until towards the end of the long vacation; the Archbishop intending they should be at Cambridge when the Term should begin, in order to their reading. During this interval, while they continued at Lambeth, they were not idle, being every day busied in some study and exercise agreeable to their function, as was hinted before. But the main of their thoughts were taken up in preparing for their University lectures, *which, of what subject-matter they should be, the Archbishop himself directed.* As it had been a great while his pious and most earnest desire, that the Holy Bible should come abroad in the greatest exactness and true agreement with the

original text, so he laid this work upon these two learned men. First, —that they should give a clear, plain, and succinct interpretation of the Scripture, according to the propriety of the language. And, secondly, illustrate difficult and obscure places, and reconcile those that seemed repugnant to one another. And it was his will and advice that to this end and purpose their public readings should tend. This pious and good work, by the Archbishop assigned to them, they most gladly and readily undertook. For their more regular carrying on this business, they allotted to each other by consent their distinct tasks. Fagius, because his talent lay in the Hebrew learning, was to undertake the Old Testament, and Bucer the New. The leisure they now enjoyed with the Archbishop they spent in preparing their respective lectures. Fagius entered upon the Evangelical prophet Esaias, and Bucer upon the Gospel of the Evangelist John.”

Their work, however, was interrupted by sickness, the distemper of Fagius proving mortal.

Thus we find, that those two distinguished men were placed by Cranmer at either University; Peter Martyr being made by him Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Bucer Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. What they did there is as much the act of Cranmer as the act of an agent can bind a principal in any case whatever. Cranmer is as answerable for the Lectures of Peter Martyr, whom he placed as Professor at Oxford, and for those of Bucer at Cambridge, as he is for anything done by himself in his own person. What thought his enemies, and how did they act respecting these appointments? They constantly threw in his teeth all that Bucer and Martyr said—and how did he meet their taunts? He never repudiated one word that either of them delivered. But we heard nothing of all this when Cranmer’s doctrine was under discussion on the other side.

At cap. xxvi., page 413, of the same work of Strype’s, we read:—

“As for the learned Italian, Peter Martyr, who is worthy to be mentioned with Melancthon and Calvin, there was not only an acquaintance between him and our Archbishop, but a great and cordial intimacy and friendship. For of him he made particular use in the steps he took in our Reformation. And whensoever he might be spared from

his public readings in Oxford, the Archbishop used to send for him, to confer with him about the weightiest matters. And when the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws was in effect wholly devolved upon Cranmer, he appointed him and Gualter Haddon, and Dr. Rowland Tayler, his chaplain, and no more, to manage that business. Which shews what an opinion he had of Martyr's abilities, and how he served himself of him in matters of the greatest moment."

So that the *Reformatio Legum* is to be traced to Peter Martyr's labour; to him and others it was committed, though Cranmer was undoubtedly answerable for it.

It has been said of these men, and such as these, with a view to disparage their authority, that they never thoroughly adopted the tenets of the Church of England—this has been said again and again. But look at the next sentence to that which I have just read:—

"And in that bold and brave challenge he made in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, to justify, against any man whatsoever, every part of King Edward's Reformation, he nominated and made choice of Martyr therein, to be one of his assistants in that disputation, if any would undertake it with him."

So that, when at last he made a challenge to defend his Prayer-book, to defend the Articles, to defend all that was done in the Reformation, whom did he choose? Peter Martyr. He was to be one of those selected to assist him, and stand by him. Could Cranmer have chosen him if Peter Martyr was not heartily united with himself,—if he had not been assenting and consenting to all then going on? Therefore, whatever may be thought of it now, in that day all that was proceeding in England was in exact correspondence with the views of Peter Martyr; for he was the man whom Cranmer associated with himself in doing it, and whom Cranmer designated as the person to defend both himself and it against any attack which might be made upon them.

Having thus laid the foundation of my authority for citing Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, I proceed to notice the views which they entertained; which I shall do, not by quotations from their works generally, but by referring

to the Lectures which they delivered at the Universities under Cranmer's direction. More particularly and specifically I intend to shew what they thought of the Prayer-book itself.

I begin with Peter Martyr. In his Lectures on the Corinthians, delivered in the University of Oxford, when commenting on 1 Cor. i. 17, he says:—

“Nos autem cum in Sacramenti hujus mentionem inciderimus, hanc ejus definitionem operæ pretium duximus proponere: ut sit Sacramentum a Domino institutum, ex aquâ et verbo constans, quo regeneramur, et Christo inserimur, ad remissionem peccatorum, et eternam salutem.”

I have quoted this passage to shew the strong language he uses. In speaking of Baptism generally, no author that has been quoted has employed stronger expressions than these; there is no retiring—no shrinking from a full and plain statement of the beneficial effects of Baptism. On cap. vii. 14, he writes:—

“Non quod ita necessario semper eveniat. Quia promissio non est generalis de omni semine, sed tantum de illo, in quo una consentit electio. Alioquin posteritas Ismaelis et Esau fuerunt ex Abrahamo. Sed quia nos de arcana Dei providentia et electione minime debemus curiosius inquirere, ideo sanctorum filios sanctos judicamus.”

Peter Martyr held the doctrine of election strongly; and, therefore, speaking of children, he says—we look upon them as one with the parent; but their outward position—(and I pray attention to this,) their outward position or their being proper subjects of Baptism, has nothing to do with the spiritual blessings conferred upon them therein. In cap. vii. page 93, he says:—

“Hoc dum Sacramenta conferuntur observandum est, si ritè agatur ut res quæ consignatur externo symbolo, habeatur et præsens adsit.”
“Adulti declarant se tenere promissionem per fidem, quando confitentur veritatem Christianæ Doctrinæ, atque tunc adhibetur, obsignatio et baptizantur.”

Adults declare that they only hold the promise by faith,

since they first confess the truth of the Christian doctrine, then they receive the seal of their faith in Baptism.

Now, we come to infants, page 93:—

“*Parvuli autem Christianorum, cum ex verbis divinis declarentur promissionem fœderis habere*”—

We were told that this appeared for the first time in the works of the Puritans. I was astonished to hear such a proposition. It appears in the works of all writers, who treat of Baptism in the early times of the Reformation. There is scarcely one who does not make special reference to it:—

—“*et in Ecclesia esse, in eis per Baptismum communicatio hæc et promissio consignatur. Perverso quidem ordine quandoque fit, ut res collationem Sacramenti sequatur*”—

Sometimes the order is perverted, and you have the Sacrament first, and the reality afterwards; and so Mr. Gorham says, “Before Baptism, in Baptism, or after Baptism.” And remember, this was what Martyr was teaching under Cranmer’s supervision:—

“*Atque tunc promissio vel promissionis donum, quod reipsa absit non consignatur, ut in his patet qui sunt increduli, et ficto animo ad Baptismum accedunt. Illi revera non pertinent ad ecclesiam, neque justificationem aut communionem Christi habent, solummodo signum circumferunt. Potest attamen fieri, ut si convertantur ad Christum, postea hæc obtineant neque propterea Baptismus est repetendus.*”

He says that is no reason for repeating Baptism; the Sacrament may remain unproductive for a time:—

“*Verum hæc ratio percipiendi Sacramenta minime probatur. Atque de adultis non est dubium, quando fideliter Baptismum suscipiunt, quin prius in divinum fœdus transierunt.*” . . “*Et omnes tandem adulti prius per fidem credunt possessionem Christi, quam ejus nota insigniantur, nisi fortassis ex hypocrisi, ut supra dicebamus, ad Baptismum accedant.*”

Such were his views with respect to adults. And then, as to infants, he proceeds:—

“*Objici consuevit, aliam esse rationem infantium, et aliam adutorum. Quoniam illi qui provectæ sunt ætatis fidem habere possunt, quæ pertineant ad gregem Dei, quæ infantibus non est tribuenda, cum mentis*

et rationis usum non habeant, quibus divinis promissionibus consentiant. Scio nonnullis, et quidem non contemnendis hominibus, visum fuisse infantes habere fidem, quasi Deus in eis mirabiliter atque ultra naturæ cursum operetur. Quorum ego sententiam, ut verum fatear, non adeo facile amplector; nonque hoc impossibile Deo judicem, ut vel infundat virtutes quacunque ætate voluerit, vel quin etiam producere possit sensum mentis aut rationis in animis infantium prævertendo naturæ tempus, aut efficere ut quanquam ipsi non intelligant, neque cognoscant quæ creduntur, attamen Spiritus Sanctus in eis apprehendat illa, et illis consentiat, quemadmodum in adultis facere dicitur ad Romanos, quando postulamus quæ nescimus an utilia sint, sed ipse Spiritus nobis nescientibus intercedit, et orat quemadmodum oportet, et Deus cum noverit ejus sensum, illum audit. Ista inquam omnia scio quoad Deum facilia esse factu. *Sed cum Scriptura sancta mihi non dicat parvulos credere aut ista miracula in eis fieri, neque id videam esse necessarium ad eorum salutem, judico satis esse, ut statuantur qui servandi sunt, eo quod per electionem et prædestinationem ad peculium Dei pertineant, Spiritu Sancto profundi, qui radix est fidei, spei, charitatis, et omnium virtutum, quas postea exerit et declarat in filiis Dei cum per ætatem licet."*

Thus he puts infants precisely on the same footing with adults. He says of adults, they make a profession of faith; that faith is conceived to be in them, it is imputed to them, and they come to have it sealed in them by this Sacrament. Among the adults, the elect alone obtain it. We look upon the children as Christians, in so far that they may be brought to this Sacrament, but to those only who are the elect does the spiritual blessing come. The adult and the infant are placed by Martyr precisely in the same position, and he was then teaching at the University of Oxford, and instructing all the divines of the day, under the direct commission of Cranmer for that purpose. Now, Sir, it is not as if I were extracting a solitary sentence, picked out carefully, and perchance torn from its context. The whole course of his teaching is to the same effect; the passages are so numerous that I could continue reciting them throughout the day. I must, however, call attention to one or two more, because I feel that when affixing to a writer the sanction of another person, as I claim to fix on

Cranmer the responsibility of what Martyr taught, the argument ought to rest on the general tenor of his writings, and not on a few isolated passages. It is not fair to make a man, who appoints and sanctions another, responsible for casual expressions, single sentences; passages of doubtful import made to apply only incidentally or by inference: but wherever the general subject is fully brought forward and investigated, it is not too much to say that the individual who gives the sanction is answerable for that which is taught in his name, and under his authority. Thus I say that Cranmer and Peter Martyr do jointly and throughout combat as error the very position which the Bishop of Exeter maintains to be the truth:—

“Cur autem tam difficiles adversarii sint ut hanc sententiam admittant, est, quod sacra mentis tribuunt plus quam oporteat. Putant enim vi et efficaciam operis Baptismi peccatum remitti, neque agnoscunt sacra mentis potius remissionem obsignari, quam adulti assequuntur credendo, et parvuli fidelium qui ad electionem pertinent per Spiritum Sanctum et gratiam jam habent. Et cum rogaveris eos, quare baptizent infantes, qui sciant illos non percipere quæ dicuntur, neque fœderi assentire quod in Baptismo illis proponunt. Fortasse respondebunt ex Augustini sententiâ: Salvari eos alienâ fide, id est parentum. Sed propheta inquit, quemque servari sua, non alienâ fide.”

The answer to that is, everybody must be saved by his own faith. He says, in the same page, lower down:—

“In parvulis vero Christianorum qui baptizandi offeruntur, eam esse dicimus inchoatam, in suo inquam principio ac radice.”

He says faith is inchoate in infants. Though he denies the proposition of infants having faith, yet, when the full spiritual blessing takes place in Baptism, the faith is inchoate even in infants:—

“Quia Spiritum Sanctum habent: unde cum fides tum omnes virtutes profluunt. Atque ut hoc magis constet, parvulos qui baptizantur, non tantum qui jam baptizati fuerint, ad Ecclesiam pertinere, in epistolâ ad Ephesios id satis evidenter ostendimus, ubi dicitur: Viri, diligite uxores vestras, quemadmodum Christus dilexit Ecclesiam, et semetipsum tradidit pro illâ, ut eam sanctificaret, mundatam lavacro

aque per verbum, &c. Sane hoc loco vides Ecclesiam esse quæ lavatur et baptizatur. Idcirco dum parvuli tinguntur, constat ad Ecclesiam pertinere, et Ecclesiæ partes verè esse non possunt, nisi spiritu Christi sint ornati. Quamobrem parvuli qui vere ad electionem Dei pertinent, antequam baptizentur, spiritu Domini sunt instructi."

I have thus shewn the statement of Peter Martyr. I have here his Commentary on the Romans, and could give a variety of passages from that work: but in order to save time, I will not trouble the Court with any: they are precisely to the effect I have stated; only in the Commentary on the Romans the subject is treated more at large.

The Court is thus in possession of what was the doctrine taught at the University of Oxford, by a person whom Cranmer brought over for the purpose; whom he supported, and whose views he had taken very great pains to investigate.

It has been admitted in argument (it could not indeed be denied) that there is very little, if any, difference between the Prayer Book as it now stands, and that of Edward VI.; that the Services for the Baptism of Infants are so nearly the same, that there is no essential difference between them.

I am now then about to shew that when the Book of Common Prayer, in the reign of Edward VI., was completed, Cranmer was desirous of having the opinion of Martyr and Bucer upon it; they being, as we have seen, Regius Professors of Divinity at the two Universities. Copies of the Prayer Book were therefore prepared by Cranmer's direction, and transmitted to them. In the Appendix to Strype's Life of Cranmer, at page 154, there is a letter, written by Martyr to Bucer, which I must now quote. It seems that Bucer had previously made certain comments upon the Prayer Book, to which I must advert presently. Let us now see what Martyr

writes to Bucer on the subject. The quotation is perhaps a little out of order, but that is unavoidable :—

“Hoc tempore nil mihi potuit, aut optatius, aut jucundius evenire quam ut censuram tuam viderem librorum sacrorum. Quare, quod eam ad me dignatus sis mittere, gratias immortales ago. Jam rogatus fueram, ut ipse quoque annotarem, quodnam mihi de eo videretur. Et cum, propter ignotam mihi linguam, fuisset data, Versio D. *Cheeki* legenda ut potui de ea colligere, annotavi quæ digna correctione visa erant.”

It would therefore appear that Martyr could not understand the English sufficiently, and that the Prayer-book was, in consequence, translated into Latin, and sent to him for his criticism :—

“Sed quia in versione mihi tradita, complura deerant, ideò multa præterii, de quibus in meis Annotationibus nihil dixi. Hæc deinde cum de tuo scripto deprehendissem, in ejusmodi libro contineri mihi doluit; quod jam ante duos aut tres dies meam censuram Reverendissimo (that is, Cranmer) qui me pro ea urgebat, attulissem.”

“Cæterum hoc demum remedium adhibui. Quæ de tuo scripto cognovi de fuisse in meo libro, summatim collegi; et cum eadem quæ tu reprehendisti, mihi quoque non ferenda viderentur.”

So that Martyr and Bucer were of the same mind as to the corrections in a great measure—

“Ea in breves articulos redegi: exposuique Reverendissimo, qui jam sciebat hæc ad D. Episcopum *Eliensem* te scripsisse, me in his omnibus capitibus, quæ illi offerebam, in articulis notata, consentire tecum, ut mutarentur.”

He, therefore, agreed to the reflections made on this by Bucer. Then he says :—

“In prioribus autem Adnotationibus omnia fermè, quæ te offenderunt, a me fuerant adnotata. Exemplum quidem ad te nunc mitterem, sed non habeo ita descriptum, ut illud possis legere. Tantum sum miratus quomodo præterieris de Communione Ægrotorum id reprehendere, quod statutum est, si eo die fiat, quo in Dominico habetur cœna Domini, tum Minister partem ciborum secum deferat. Atque ita Communionem in domo Ægrotantis administret. Qua in re id me offendit quòd ibi non repetunt quæ præcipuè ad cœnam Domini

pertinent cumque, ut tu quoque sentis, arbitror, verba cœnæ magis ad homines, quam aut ad panem, aut ad vinum pertinere."

In regard, therefore, to that Rubric, he makes some demur:—

"Monui omnino mihi videri, ut coram ægroto, et simul cum eo communicantibus, omnia, quæ ad cœnam Domini necessariò requiruntur, et dicantur, et agantur. Et sane mirandum est, quomodo ea, conspectu ægroti, verba dicere graventur, cui maximè utilia sunt, cum inutiliter eadem repetere velint, quando inter communicandum in Templo vinum in poculo deficere contigerit, cum homines qui adsunt, et sacramenta sumunt, illa jam audiverint. Hæc sunt, quæ putavi alicujus momenti, et cur omiseris, non satis intelligo. In omnibus autem, quæ censuisti emendanda, tuæ sententiæ scripsi."

I have read this in order not to omit anything on the subject. Martyr says not one single word further about the Liturgy that was sent to him. He had these Baptismal Services before him, and we have seen what his views were. Yet it is said, that a Minister who now holds the same opinions maintains doctrine directly in the teeth of the Church of England. Here is a man who held such opinions, and who, when consulted upon these Services, acknowledges them, without making a single reflection upon them. We have been told that we must collect the doctrines of the Church from the Services. The foregoing quotation is a lesson for us, for it shews how fallacious it is to suppose that doctrine can be so established. The Services were never intended for the purpose to which it is attempted now to apply them. They were compiled that those who held the same general truth might all join in the same worship, and employ the same form of expression.

I have thus examined the account given us of Peter Martyr.

I turn now to the University, of which I have myself the honour to be a member. Let us see what was going forward there under Bucer, respecting whom I will first adduce Archbishop Whitgift's testimony to the Court. It

is to be found at page 522 of the "Defence of his Answer to the Admonition:"—

"I have sometimes heard a Papiste burst out into this rage against M. Bucer, beyng pressed with his authoritie. But you are the first professour of the Gospel that ever I hearde so churlishly to use so reverent, so learned, so painfull, so *sounde*, a father, being also an earnest and zealous professour."

It is proper that I should also mention what had occurred in the year 1536, before Bucer came to England. In that year he had an interview with several of the Reformers on this very point of Baptism. There was a discussion between them, not unlike that alluded to in the Bishop of Exeter's Charge, where the Clergymen, who were present, respectively stated their views on Baptism; only that this was one of greater importance, for there were engaged in it Luther, Bucer, and others. The account of this discussion is mentioned at page 655 of Bucer's "*Scripta Anglicana*:"—

"Cum igitur rursus facto mane convenissemus, hæc nobis (quod ad Baptismum attinet) Doct: Lutherus proposuit: Cum multi sint qui Infantes baptizari nolint: alii etiam reperiantur, qui quidem baptizari eos permittant, ipsum tamen Baptisma tantum nudum symbolum esse statuunt, ideoque sine Baptismo infantes mori paterentur: alii demum sine aquâ baptizant: ideò nostram nos fidem de his capitibus testari debere. Quid autem ipse faciendum crederet, prius exponebat, videlicet infantes baptizandos esse: eumque verè esse efficacem et adoptionem filiorum Dei conferre. Denique aqua eum administrari debere, prout de his in confessione Augustana, Apologia, et alibi scripserint."

Hearing this laid down, Bucer interposed an objection:—

"Adhæc Bucerus secundum ea quæ inter nos proponenda constitueramus, respondit.

"Nos omnes adversus hostes Pædobaptismi fideliter dimicasse, et adhuc dimicare, id quod nostrorum scripta testantur. Præterea sacrum Baptisma à nobis haberi, et de eo doceri, non ut de nudo aliquo symbolo, sed ut de verò lavacro regenerationis quæ virtute Dei et ministerio ministri cum aquâ nobis exhibetur. In eo autem quosdam

offensos esse quod (cum fides in S: Scripturâ accipiatur pro auditu, et per auditum nobis applicato verbo Dei, juxta dictum Pauli Romanorum decimo, Fides est ex auditu:) nos cum D: Augustino, et aliis Patribus dixerimus et scripserimus, infantes ista ratione fidem non habere. Quod si autem vocabulum fidei in latâ significatione accipere velimus, pro qualibet nostri deditioe quæ fit Deo: hoc sensu etiam infantes fideles appellari posse."

If you are content to look at it broadly in an enlarged and general point of view, it is possible to consider infants as faithful; and they may be so called; but then he guards himself against the *opus operatum*. For he adds:—

"Nos enim simpliciter credere et docere, infantibus in Baptismo veram regenerationem, veramque in filios Dei adoptionem communicari, et Spiritum Sanctum in illis operari juxta illis datam mensuram et modulum, sicut de S: Johanne legimus, illum Spiritu Sancto repletum fuisse ab utero matris suæ. Ne tamen ad opinionem de opere operato prolabamur, solere nos ista eo modo declarare, ut agnoscamus totum hoc solius Dei opus esse, administrum vero tantum pertinere ministerium. Hoc autem ubi in Scriptura fundatum sit, quod nimirum aliqui affirmant, infantes dum baptizantur verba Evangelii intelligere, iisque actu ipso credere, atque ita salvos fieri. Hoc ergo unde è sacris literis probari possit, videre hujusque non potuimus.

"His rursum respondebat Lutherus: hanc suam suorumque sententiam non esse: sed sicut nos etiam dormientes inter fideles numeremur, et revera tales simus quantumvis actu de Deo nihil cogitemus: ita initium quoddam fidei (quod tamen Dei sit opus) in infantibus extare, secundum ipsorum mensuram et modulum, quem nos ignoremus, atque hoc se fidem nominare, et malle ne de his rebus deputationes moveantur, neve hæc quisquam pervestigare ausit qua nimirum ratione hoc suum opus in ipsis Dominus perficiat. . . .

"His D. Lutherus et sui acquiescebant; et a nobis hoc præstari volebant, ut populum commonefaceremus, ne sine Baptismo infantes suos adolescere paterentur. Pertinere enim eos ad Ecclesiam ideoque quantum in nobis est, Baptismum illis conferendum esse, quod nos facturos esse libenter recepimus, sicut et antehac contemptum Baptismi nostris concionibus fideliter oppugnavimus, omnesque ut liberos suos Baptismo offerrent fideliter hortati sumus, cum revera Baptismus sit lavacrum regenerationis, et communicatio sanguinis Christi, quæ religiosè liberis nostris impartiri cupimus et velle debemus,

addita tamen expressa declaratione, opus illud solius Christi esse, qui in hoc exequendo externo Ecclesiae ministerio utatur; et adjuncta præmonitione veteris quidem, sed adhuc nimis popularis apud Pontificios erroris, ubi homines in externo opere Baptismi liberorum suorum salutem quærunt, verum autem Baptistam Christum neque nôrunt, neque in salutem liberorum invocant."

That was the conference which is supposed to have modified the views previously entertained by Bucer. In his second edition of his Commentary on the Four Gospels, Bucer gives what he calls a Retractation of what he had previously held on Baptism. So that we get from this passage his ultimate and settled views, the views which he held when he came over to England, and was selected by Cranmer to assist him, and to teach in the University.

After alluding to his conference with Luther at page 18, he writes thus:—

"Magnus ille alioqui et ardens fidei in Christum prædicator, et alii quidam viri docti et religiosi scriberent, Deum constituisse fidem et Spiritum Sanctum nemini nisi per externa illa, verbum et Sacramenta, conferre, et his, ceu canalibus, gratiam atque Spiritum Sanctum infundi."

"Ut videbantur ergo hæc, verba externa, et Sacramenta, esse gratiæ Christi certa sigilla, canales, atque instrumenta, in quibus certissime Spiritus Christi percipiatur, errori et superstitioni illi nonnihil patrocinari: voluimus omnem remissionem peccatorum, conscientiae erectionem, Spiritusque Christi communionem, Christo Domino quam plenissimè asserere, idque diligenter monere, una nos fide hîc percipere quæ ille ad salutem nostram largitur et operatur. Et hac de causa diximus, ministros a peccatis absolvere, quum pronuntiant per Christum absolutos esse, et confirmare conscientias, fidemque stabilire atque provehere, dum prædicant Christum conscientias confirmare, et fidem augere: Baptismate abluere peccata, et regnare, quum verbis et sacra tinctione repræsentant et testantur Christum a peccatis abluere, pascere corpore et sanguine Domini: dum item verbis et signis prædicant, Christum ipsum se ipso nos reficere. Baptismatis usum præcipuum fecimus recipi in Ecclesiam, et profiteri fidem: eucharistiæ, nos admoneri redemptionis nostræ, et profiteri in fide dilectionemque perseverantiam. Signa nec sensimus nec scripsimus unquam esse inania, imo diserte in his ipsis quæ retracto, testatus sum Scripturam

de sacris signis loqui, ut vere percipiuntur, quo pacto significatum signo conjunctum est: et id re vera geritur, quod signis representatur. Ministros non volumus nihil agere, quia cum Paulo scripsimus, eos plantare et rigare. Hoc unum urgere volumus, sine virtute Christi, qua nos ipse ad se trahit, operam ministrorum, ipsaque verba et signa externa administrata, nemini posse esse salutifera." * * "Fateor igitur primum, me dignationem Dei, usumque verum in verbis et sacramentis non satis explicuisse dum illud non diligenter inculcavi, Christum uti ministro, organo suo, ut omnium primum in verbis et sacramentis suis exhibeat remissionem peccatorum, et communionem sui, usumque verum in his esse, si minister hanc exhibitionem commendet quam diligentissime, et cæteri eam fide vera amplectantur. Professio religionis hinc secundarium est: fides enim fidei professione prior est, et fide prædicatio misericordiæ Dei redemptionisque Christi, quæ fidei objectum est. Jam symbola in sacramentis nihil quam visibilia verba sunt, quibus prædicatio et oblatio gratiæ Christi fit vehementior, et ad excitandum animum efficacior. Deinde agnosco, has metaphoras, Sacramenta esse instrumenta, organa et canales gratiæ, esse secundum Scripturas. D. Paulus enim Corinthiis scribit, ego vos genui per Evangelium. (1 Cor. iv. 15.) In altera ad Cor. iii. 6, scribit se illis administrasse Spiritum, non litteram, fecisseque eos epistolam Christi. Galatis scribit accepisse Spiritum ex auditione fidei. Hinc vocavit Baptisma lavacrum regenerationis, et Eucharistiam communionem corporis et sanguinis Christi. Baptismo affirmat nos esse in mortem Christi sepultos, Christo incorporatos, et Christo indutos. Ex quibus omnibus sicut manifestum est Evangelium, et Sacramenta quæ sunt seu visibilia Evangelia, a Christo Domino in hoc instituta esse, ut per ea suam nobis redemptionem communicet: ita admodum liquet, ea Domino esse quodam modo instrumenta, et canales Spiritus gratiæ suæ, adeoque nihil inesse in hisce translationibus absurdi: si modo hoc diligenter commendetur, ministros et ministerium ejusmodi instrumenta esse salutis nostræ, ut hujus nihil in se habeant, aut præsent, nisi quantum ejus Christus pro sua ultronea misericordia utens illis, donare, et per illa præstare fuerit dignatus. Et hoc modo nos etiam nunquam negavimus, verba et Sacramenta Evangelica, esse organa Christi, quibus ille nobis redemptionis suæ beneficium exhibet. Hoc tantum inficiati sumus, ita ut id diserte expressimus, sacramenta et sacra verba esse talia instrumenta, canalesque gratiæ, ut salutem afferant, quocunque illis animo aut fide communicates. Sic enim nonnulli gratiam Christi illis addixerunt, ut viderentur externa hæc per se salutifera facere. Ita illi vicissim, quum nos volentes cavere, ne quis salutem sibi peteret a ceremoniis,

absque fide certa in Christum, scripsimus Christum pro suo arbitratu gratiam et Spiritum suum largiri, quibus et quando velit, et nihil hujus posse quæ per hominem geruntur, existimârunt nos sacramentis nihil aliud tribuere, quàm ea notas esse externas nostræ in Christo societatis, nec agnoscere illa esse symbola gratiæ, gratiamque per illa exhiberi."

I refer very briefly to some of the expressions now quoted. He says, I have called the Sacraments "*signa*," but never "*inania*." When you speak of them as means and channels of grace, you must connect with it worthy reception, or it will lead to what is superstitious. Thus qualified, thus understood, you may safely predicate it of them; but you must not attribute the grace to them, or speak of it as inhabiting them, and being necessarily conveyed by them to all alike. Bucer, therefore, was prepared, before he came to England, to take the precise ground of the Articles. He understood the question thoroughly. He had argued it out with Luther, and his matured opinions being in exact conformity with what is expressed in the Articles, he is the person chosen by Cranmer to represent him, as I have said, at the University of Cambridge.

I proceed now to shew what Bucer said of the Prayer-book, as I have already mentioned it was sent to Martyr and to him. Martyr, as we have before seen, assented to the comments which Bucer made upon it, and suggested, in addition, but few of his own. I come now to Bucer, who had the larger share in it; and I call the attention of the Court to what he says on the Baptismal Service.

In his "*Scripta Anglicana*,"—title, "*De Ceremoniis Administrationi S. Baptismatis præscriptis*,"—page 477, he says:—

"Primum antè baptismatis administrandi descriptionem, præmittitur præceptum admodum salutare. . . Quis autem sensum aliquem Christianæ teneat communionis, qui non agnoscat, quantopere deceat eos, qui sunt invicem membra in *Christo* frequentes adesse, cum aliquis natus ex ipsis in æternam mortem, debet in Ecclesia renasci, ad vitam sempiternam: et sus-

cipi inter filios Dei, quo illi simul istud beneficium et a Deo pariter oret, et ut Christi Ecclesia per ministrum unà conferant. Ut sicut singulorum ille membrum fit per hoc Sacramentum; ita à singulis quoque tanquam membrum recipiatur, et quisque se ei coram Domino devinciat ad mutua Christianæ communionis officia et corporalia et spiritualia.

“Maximo itaque studio curandum est Episcopis et Archidiaconis, ut hoc præceptum ministri et fideliter populum doceant, et religiosè ipsi observent, nullius illud sive superstitioni, sive licentiæ remittentes. Nec pauci enim eorum quibus infantes baptizantur, magis ea curant, quæ sunt pompæ carnalis, quam Sathan circa hæc sacra inexit, quàm quæ sunt baptismatis et regenerationis.

“Cumque nec ad matutinas, nec ad vespertinas, preces soleat Ecclesia coire: præstaret sanè Baptisma administrari statim à sacra concione cum frequentissima adhuc est Ecclesia.”—

And so on.

But in vain shall we look for one single reflection by way of objection to the Service itself. He adopts it all; nor is there a comment upon any part of it, except in reference to such comparatively trifling matters as I have just pointed out.

Thus then, to Peter Martyr at one University, and to Bucer at the other, the Baptismal Service was submitted for their consideration, and it received from both an unqualified approval. Both these eminent Reformers were brought to England by Cranmer, both were entertained by him as his guests, that he might understand their views and enter into their minds; they were then placed as Regius Professors in the two Universities, to instruct the clergy in the truths of the Reformation, and both of them approved of the Service as it now stands. They were in a situation to pass an unfavourable judgment upon it; they pass none: and it is rather too much to censure a clergyman of the present day, who holds their opinion on the doctrine of Baptism, for maintaining that this Service is in accordance with his views.

Before I pass to the next point I would shortly call the Court's attention to the Homilies. I do not say that there is anything in them absolutely decisive as to the

point at issue; but as I am sure there is no reason why I should shun them, I will not pass them by without some few quotations.

In the early part of the Homily of the "*Salvation of Mankind*" there occurs this passage:—

"Insomuch that infants being baptized, and dying in their infancy, are by this sacrifice washed from their sins."

Not washed by Baptism, but washed by the sacrifice of Christ, of which he had just spoken.

"And they which in act or deed do sin after their Baptism, when they turn again to God unfeignedly they are likewise washed by this sacrifice from their sins," &c., &c.

Again, in the first part of the Homily of Faith:—

"Therefore, when men hear in the Scripture so high commendations of faith, that it maketh us to please God, to live with God, and to be the children of God," &c.

There the being children of God is attributed to faith, not to Baptism.

The Homily on Charity ends thus:—

"Therefore, bear well away this short lesson, that by true Christian charity God ought to be loved above all things. . . . And if we thus direct our life by Christian love and charity; then Christ doth promise and assure us that he loveth us, that we be the children of our heavenly Father, reconciled to his favour, very members of Christ," &c.

In the Homily on Common Prayer there is this passage: "Writing to Bonifacius of the Baptism of Infants," he, that is St. Augustine, saith:—

"If Sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they be Sacraments they should be no Sacraments at all; and of this similitude they do for the most part receive the names of the selfsame things they signify. By these words of St. Augustine it appeareth, that he alloweth the common description of a Sacrament; which is, that it is a visible sign of an invisible grace; that is to say, that setting out to the eyes and other outward senses the inward working of God's free mercy doth, as it were, seal in our hearts the promises of God. And so was Circumcision a Sacrament which preached unto the outward senses," &c.

In the same Homily it is said :—

“ Although reason, if it might rule, would soon persuade us that to administer a Sacrament is by the outward word and element to preach to the receiver the ‘inward’ and visible grace of God.”

In the Homily “Of the worthy receiving and reverent estimating of the Sacraments,” at the end of the first part it is said :—

“ Whereas the faithful have their life, their abiding in him, their service, and, as it were, their incorporation with him,—wherefore let us prove unfeignedly, without flattering ourselves, whether we be plants of the fruitful olive, living branches of the tree, members indeed of Christ’s mystical body. Whether God hath purified our hearts by faith,” &c.

Not that we necessarily are so by our Baptism.

The Homily for Whitsunday has in several respects rather a remarkable bearing upon the present subject, as shewing what is also observable throughout all the other Homilies ; that, in the estimation of those by whom they were compiled and set forth, it was deemed more important to refer men to the work of the Holy Spirit within them, than to any administration of an outward ordinance.

In this Homily on Whitsunday there occurs the following passage :—

“ Where the Holy Ghost worketh, there nothing is impossible, may further also appear by the inward regeneration and sanctification of mankind. When Christ said to Nicodemus, unless a man be born anew of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, he was greatly amazed in his mind, and began to reason with Christ, demanding how a man might be born which was old. Can he enter, saith he, into his mother’s womb again, and so be born anew ? Behold a lively pattern of a fleshly, carnal man. He had little or no intelligence of the Holy Ghost, and, therefore, he goeth bluntly to work, and asketh, how this thing were possible to be true. Whereas, otherwise, if he had known the great power of the Holy Ghost in this behalf—that it is he that inwardly worketh the regeneration and new birth of mankind, he would never have marvelled at Christ’s words, but would rather have taken occasion thereby to praise and glorify God.”

Again :—

“ It is the Holy Ghost, and no other thing that doth quicken the

minds of men, stirring up good and godly motions in their hearts which are agreeable to the will and commandment of God, such as otherwise of their own wicked and perverse nature they should never have.

"That which is born of the flesh, saith Christ, is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit. As who should say, man of his own nature is fleshly and carnal, corrupt and naughty, sinful and disobedient to God, without any spark of goodness in him, without any virtuous or godly motive, only given to evil thoughts and wicked deeds. As for the works of the Spirit, the fruits of faith, charitable and godly motions, if he have any at all in him, they proceed only of the Holy Ghost, who is the only worker of our sanctification, and maketh us new men in Christ Jesus. . . . Such is the power of the Holy Ghost to regenerate men, and, as it were, to bring them forth anew, so that they shall be nothing like the men they were before."

I can imagine a clergyman in the present day being held by some persons not quite inaccessible to censure, if he had so preached without once naming Baptism.

Further on in the same Homily it is said :—

"Here is now that glass wherein thou must behold thyself and discern whether thou have the Holy Ghost within thee, or the spirit of the flesh; if thou see that thy works be righteous and good, consonant to the prescript of God's word, savouring and tasting not of the flesh but of the Spirit; then assure thyself that thou art endued with the Holy Ghost; otherwise, in thinking well of thyself thou dost nothing else but deceive thyself."

Here is no reference whatever to Baptism; it is not spoken of or alluded to in any part of the Homily; where, if indeed the doctrine of Baptism had been then considered what it is now affirmed to be, one would have expected to find some mention made of it.

The Homily thus concludes :—

"In the mean season, let us, as we are most bound, give hearty thanks to God the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ, for sending down this Comforter into the world; humbly beseeching him so to work in our hearts by the power of his Holy Spirit, that we being regenerate and newly born again in all goodness, righteousness, sobriety, and truth, may in the end be made partakers of everlasting life in his heavenly kingdom."

I have not quoted these passages as deciding the point

at issue; the Homilies were not intended to decide it. They are occupied with other matters, which were deemed of more importance to be taught in the pulpits throughout the land; and they contain no exact treatise on Infant Baptism. But whilst I make that admission with respect to the passages I have myself recited, I apply the same observation to those quoted on the other side. The Court will find that the questions which were put by the Bishop of Exeter from the Homilies, are all deductions. Passages are taken out of their context, and placed in juxtaposition; and then Mr. Gorham is asked, whether the inference is not so and so; which is not either a satisfactory or a fair mode of conducting such an inquiry. However, as I said before, the nature and effect of Baptism have not been made the immediate subject of a single Homily. That it was *not* deemed necessary to treat upon Baptism specifically, may be worthy of observation: but it is in point of fact touched upon only incidentally; and I have not cited the passages as of themselves sufficient to decide a controversy.

I am now about to call the attention of the Court to one or two of the Zurich Letters, which are important as shewing that the English Reformers in the time of Cranmer, and in the days of Elizabeth, held precisely the same doctrines with the foreign Churches. That is all that I design to establish by the present proposed reference. The Court will remember, we have not heard anything from the Counsel for the Bishop of Exeter as to what was going on upon the Continent. That ground may be considered as abandoned; and all that I design to shew is, that the Continental Reformers held the same opinions as the Reformed Church of England.

In the first volume of the Zurich Letters, published by the Parker Society, at page 100, there is a letter from Jewell to Martyr. I have shewn pretty clearly, I hope, what Martyr held. It has been said, that Jewell entertained another view. We have partly seen already, and we shall see yet further, how true that is. Jewell, writing to Martyr

from Salisbury in 1552, the very year in which the Articles were first passed in the reign of *Elizabeth*, says :—

“As to matters of doctrine, we have pared everything away to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail’s breadth.”

At page 135 there is a letter from Bishop Horne to Bullinger, of whom we have heard nothing yet, but shall hear now very shortly :—

“We have throughout England the same ecclesiastical doctrine as yourselves.”

There follows a sentence as to Rites and Ceremonies, which is imperfect, the original MS. being illegible; but the sentence which I have read is perfect, and the sense complete. There is also a letter from Grindal to Bullinger; and these being all in Elizabeth’s time, they are very important. This is dated 1556, and occurs at page 169 :—

“We who now are Bishops, on our first return, and before we entered on our ministry, contended long and earnestly for the removal of those things that have occasioned the present dispute: but as we were unable to prevail either with the Queen or the Parliament; we judged it best, after a consultation on the subject, not to desert our Church for the sake of a few ceremonies, and these not unlawful in themselves; especially since the pure doctrine of the Gospel remained in all its integrity and freedom; in which, even to this day (notwithstanding the attempts of many to the contrary), we most fully agree with your Churches and with the Confessions you have lately set forth.”

There is a note to shew that this was the Helvetic Confession of Faith, enlarged and improved in 1656. I shall not quote from it; though I might find an opportunity from this letter of shewing in what entire ignorance of its contents the Bishop of Exeter wrote his Charge. But I pass on.

Grindal, in July, 1573, two years after the Articles had been sanctioned by Parliament, writing from York to Rodolf Gualter, says (page 293) :—

“Although you are not personally known to me, you are well known to me by your writings, abounding, as they do, in singular erudition and learning: and on account of the excellent piety which they breathe, and, I will add too, on account of our most close agreement in the true doctrine of Christ, you are most dear to me.”

These are testimonies to what was proceeding on the Continent.

There is another letter from Grindal, in 1562, contained in the second volume of the Zurich Letters, page 73, addressed to Conrad Hubert (June 1562), in which he says,—

“It is astonishing that they are raising such commotions about Predestination. They should at least consult their own Luther on the ‘bondage of the will.’ For what else do Bucer, Calvin, and Martyr teach that Luther has not maintained in that Treatise? . . . Do you, most learned Conrad, persevere in defending the fame of Bucer and in maintaining the truth. The Lord will not suffer this cause, which is his own, to be always kept under.”

Thus I have connected Bucer and Martyr, and what was said of them, with the doctrine taught in Elizabeth’s reign, which Archbishop Grindal, of course, well understood. In the first edition of the Bishop of Exeter’s Charge, at page 10, I find this sentence:—

“Now, at the time when the Articles were first compiled, in 1552, and even ten years afterwards, when they assumed their present form, the point on which, of all others, there was the least difference either between us, or the German Protestants, and Rome, was the doctrine of *Baptism*, to which *this defence of the Articles* is mainly directed. On that all were in the main agreed, the voice of controversy was almost or altogether unheard. Look at the formularies set forth in this country during the reign of Henry VIII., in all of which Cranmer, the compiler of our Articles, had the principal hand; look at the early Confessions of Faith of foreign Protestants—the Helvetic, that of Augsburg, the Saxon, the Belgic, and the Catechism of Heidelberg,—ALL THESE, ON THIS GREAT PARTICULAR, AGREED NOT ONLY WITH EACH OTHER, BUT WITH ROME ITSELF. Of Baptism, every one of them asserted the cardinal doctrine of its being the blessed instrument by which God worketh in us spiritual regeneration.”

A startling assertion, assuredly, this; and some kind friend must have whispered in the Bishop’s ear, that perhaps it would be as well to publish a *second* edition of the Charge, omitting the statement and appending a note, which, accordingly, we find introduced in the *second* edition:—

“I have here withdrawn a statement made by me, when I delivered

this Charge, respecting the early Confessions of Faith of foreign Protestants. Closer inspection (especially of the Confessions of those bodies which adopted the doctrines of Zuingli and Calvin) has discovered, under a *seeming agreement with the doctrine of our Articles and Liturgy on Baptism, a real and considerable difference*. In more than one of these documents there are statements, seemingly inconsistent with each other, which it is not for me to attempt to reconcile."

Certainly not—no one asked, or expected, it of the Bishop of Exeter—all that he had to do, was to explain his own extraordinary misstatement: but, I think it would have been as well for his credit, if the information, which any one at all acquainted with the subject, and the ecclesiastical history of those times, could have given, had been obtained prior to the first publication of the Charge, and even prior to its delivery; for it had already gone throughout the diocese. And the limited nature of his Lordship's discovery (at least of its acknowledgment) is still worthy of remark; for while seeking out points of difference between the Reformed Churches on the Continent and in England, he has lost sight altogether of that which was the great mistake of all, viz., their imaginary agreement with Rome. It is but one of the many blunders which have been made in connexion with this case; still, it may suggest the reflection, that persons who are liable to fall, and have fallen, into such grievous mistakes, should beware of using a tone of asperity in respect to others.

As so much has been said regarding Zuinglius and Calvin; and as their views have been represented as differing so widely from the Church of England; I will call attention to the writings of Archdeacon Philpot, as published by the Parker Society, page 45. Archdeacon Philpot is there addressed by Dr. Saverson:—

"*Dr. Saverson*. I wonder you will stand so stedfast in your error to your own destruction.—*Philpot*. I am sure we are in no error by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true Church such a spirit of wisdom that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know that we are of the truth; for, that neither by reasoning, neither by writing, your Syna-

gogue of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly, learned, ministers of Germany who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all at this day is able to answer Calvin's 'Institutions,' who is Minister of Geneva?"

Subsequently, at page 153, entitled, Bonner's Exhortation, Philpot says this:—

"I allow the Church at Geneva, and the doctrine of the same, for it is *una catholica et apostolica*, and doth follow the doctrine that the Apostles did preach; and the doctrine taught and preached in King Edward's days was also according to the same."

I have thus shewn that there was a consent in England to all that was going on on the Continent; and that both in Edward the Sixth's reign, and in that of Queen Elizabeth, this testimony was borne to the foreign Reformers; that the doctrine taught in England was precisely the doctrine taught by them.

Sir, in the course of this argument we have been favoured with a reference to some writers as of authority; and something has been said about the Savoy Conference, and what the twelve Bishops said to those who came before them. These Conversations, for they are in truth nothing more, have been treated as though they were a part of the Ecclesiastical Law, unchanged and unchangeable. I incline to think that we may as well go a little into Convocation itself as to what has been considered to be the doctrine of the Church of England. I am not putting it as law. I do not at all mean to say that it was actually law. I have no wish to mislead the Court about it; but still I solicit attention to it. In the Convocation of 1586 there were certain Orders introduced into the Upper House by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, a name of no inconsiderable importance; and I now quote from Cardwell's "*Synodalia*," vol. ii., page 562:—

"In hac synodo (2 die Decembris) ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi

introducebantur Orders for the better increase of learning in the inferior ministers and for more diligent preaching and catechising."

What are these orders?—

"1. Everie Minister, havinge cure and beinge vnder the degrees of Master of Arte and Bach. of Lawe, and not licensed to be a publique preacher, shall, before the second daye of Februarie next, provide a *Bible* and *Bullinger's Decads* in Latin or Englishe, and a paper booke; and shall everie daye reade over one chap're of the Holie Scriptures, and note y^e principall contents thereof brieflie in his paper booke; and shall everie weeke reade over one sermon in the said Decads, and note likewise the cheife matters therein conteyned, in the saide paper. And shall once in everie quarter, viz., within a fortnight before or after the ende of the quarter, shewe his said note to some preacher neere adioyning, to be assigned for that purpose.

"2. Item. The Bushope, Archdeacon, or other Ordinarie beinge a publique preacher, shall appoint certayne graue and learned preachers who shall priuatlie examine the diligence and vewe the notes of the said Ministers, assigning sixe or seaven Mi'sters as occac'on shall require to everie such preacher that shal be next adioyning to him, so as the Ministers be not driven to travill for the exhibitinge of their notes above sixe or seaven miles (if it may be). And the said preachers shall by l'res or otherwise truely certifie to the Archdeacon, or other Ordinarie of the place,—themselves beinge publique preachers and resident within or nere to their jurisdictions, and for want thereof to the Bushoppe himself, whoe doe performe the said Exercises—and howe they haue profited therin; and whoe do refuse or neglecte to performe the same; the Archdeacons and others receiving the said Certificats shall signifie the same once in the yeare to the Bushope, and that about Michaelmas."

This Order is dated January, 1557, and was brought by the Archbishop into the Upper House of Convocation; and though it does not appear to have passed through the Lower House, it was approved by the Queen, and is among the State papers. It was also registered at Lambeth Palace on the 28th of March, 1557, and is referred to in "Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift," vol. i., page 131.

That there may be no mistake upon the subject of this Order, I beg leave to repeat, that its authority consists in this, viz., that it passed through the Upper House of

Convocation, and was sanctioned by the Queen. That is the precise authority on which it stands: and that it was not a merely formal order; but was acted upon and enforced; appears from the Circular addressed, by Archbishop Whitgift, to the Bishops of the province; reminding them of it, and desiring to be supplied with an exact return of its observance. This Circular is given in Strype's Life of Whitgift, and bears date the 10th of November, 1588. Before I proceed with the quotations I am about to make, from the Decades of Bullinger, I would add only, that in such estimation was Bullinger held by Cranmer, that we find from Cardwell's Liturgies of Edw. VI., preface, page 33, that when A. Lasco presented to Cranmer Bullinger's treatise, "De Sacramentis," the Archbishop desired that it might be printed immediately; observing "that nothing of Bullinger's required to be read and examined previously:" such confidence had Cranmer in Bullinger. I now, therefore, quote from these Decades, as showing beyond all dispute what were the opinions of the Archbishop and Bishops of our Church at that period. The passages I might desire to bring under the attention of the Court are far too many for recital; indeed, the whole portion of the work, which treats on the subject, is to the same effect. I select only a sufficient number of passages, to shew that the doctrine contended for is not merely to be found in certain parts, but that it forms the general scope and tenor of the work.

At page 970 we have these words:—

"*Faith*, verily, is the only and undoubted mean to obtain life and salvation. Christ is the strength and substance of the Sacraments; by whom only they are effectual, and without whom they are of no power, virtue, or effect."

At page 983 we have these words:—

"Many receive the visible Sacraments, and yet are not partakers of the invisible grace which BY FAITH ONLY is received. Whereupon, yet again, it followeth, that *the sign is not confounded with the thing*

signified; but both of them do retain their substance and nature distinguished. What, and doth not the Scripture expressly and pithily make a difference between the outward ministry of man, and God the inward Worker and Giver of spiritual gifts?"

At page 993 we have these words:—

"They are sacramental and figurative speeches when we read and hear . . . that they are purged from their sins and REGENERATED into a new life, which are baptized in the name of Christ, and that baptism is the washing away of our sins. And after this manner speaketh the Scripture. And this form of speech kept the old Doctors of the Church: whom for so doing none that is wise doth dispraise; neither can one discommend any man which speaketh after this manner, so that he also abide in the same sincerity wherein it is manifest that those holy men of God did walk. For as they did willingly and simply use those speeches; so did they not roughly and rigorously strain the letter and speeches: they did interpret them in such sort, that none was so unskilful but what he might understand, that the signs were not the thing itself which they signified; but that the signs do take the names of the things. Therefore they used words significatively, sacramentally, mystically, and figuratively. Now, whereas some will not have the sacramental speeches to be expounded, as though, being not expounded, they were of more authority, majesty, and worthiness; this draweth after it a sore danger, and giveth a most grievous offence; and is repugnant to the rule of the Apostles, to sound reason, and to the custom of them of old. For when these kind of speeches are set forth and uttered to the simple sort, being not expounded . . . 'Baptism saveth us,' &c., what other thing, I pray you, is set forth than a snare of carnal bondage? Many words need not in this matter, since experience doth abundantly enough set forth in this place what hath been done, and what at this day is done."

At page 1002, we have these words:—

"This is undoubtedly true, that the Apostles with no other forcible engine more strongly battered (as it were) and beat down flat to the ground their adversaries' bulwark in defence of Sacraments that purify, than with this, 'That we which believe shall be saved by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ:' and whereas in every place almost they add, 'Not by the law, not by ceremonies, or other ritual observations,'—do we think that they will admit Sacraments to the partaking of such power and virtue, seeing they be comprehended under rites and ceremonies and so accounted? Christian faith doth attribute the grace of God, remission of sins, sanctification, and justification, fully

and wholly to the free mercy of God, and to the merit of Christ's passion; yea, in such sort doth Christian faith attribute these spiritual benefits unto it, that beside it nothing at all is admitted to take part with it. Therefore, whereas Lombard (Sent. iv. Dist. 2,) saith, '*that Sacraments have received power to confer or give grace by the merit of the passion of Christ*,' it is of his own forging. For as Christ giveth not his glory to any, either saint or mortal man, *much less to a creature without life*; even so, he that believeth to be fully justified by the death and resurrection of the Lord, seeketh no further grace and righteousness in any other thing than in Christ only; upon whom he stayeth; whom also by faith he feeleth in his heart or mind already, to exercise His force by the Holy Ghost."

A little further on we have these words:—

"I am not ignorant of the crafty sleights of some, who imagine that there is a certain general, and also a special faith. The general faith they call that whereby we believe that we are truly justified by the death and resurrection of Christ. But that they call a special faith, whereby we believe that, by *the Sacraments* and our own works, the gifts of God are applied particularly to every one of us, one by one. But to what purpose was it, being in a land where they might be fed with manna, to look back to the pottage pots and unsavoury leeks of Egypt? What, (I pray you,) have Christians to do with the distinctions of subtle sophisters? Or how will they prove this distinction of theirs unto us? Verily, there is but one faith; *and the same is no other in the use of the Sacraments than it is without the use of them. Without the use of them, we believe that we are sanctified by the death and resurrection of Christ.* In Baptism and the Lord's Supper, we practise no other faith, than [that] whereby we believe that we are purged from our sins by the grace and mercy of Christ; and that, by his body given for us, and his blood shed for us, we are redeemed from death, and become heirs of eternal life. NOT THE SACRAMENTS, BUT FAITH, *through the Holy Ghost, applieth these things unto us.* To be short: there is one God and Saviour of all; one salvation; one redemption, and purging; one faith, whereby we receive salvation offered unto us of God, in Christ, through the Holy Ghost. The same is declared, or preached unto us, in the Word, by the minister; and *is represented and sealed by the Sacraments.* . . . I will add this: *that Sacraments cannot give that which they have not themselves*; but THEY HAVE NOT GRACE, *and righteousness, and heavenly gifts*; therefore, THEY DO NOT GIVE THEM."

At page 1016, we have these words:—

"Unless the inward force of the Spirit do draw and quicken the hearts of the hearers, the outward persuasion of the teacher, though it be never so forcible and vehement, shall nothing avail. But if the Holy Spirit do shew forth his might, and work with the word of the preacher, the souls of the hearers are most mightily strengthened. And so it standeth with the mystery of the Sacrament. For, if the inward anointing and sealing of the Holy Ghost be wanting, the outward action will be counted but a toy to the unbelievers; *neither worketh the sealing of the Sacraments anything at all*: but when *faith, the gift of the Holy Ghost, GOETH BEFORE, the sealing of the Sacraments is very strong and sure.*"

At page 1021, we have these words:—

"All the inward gifts of the Spirit freely are bestowed on us by the Lord only, not by any creatures, not by any elements. Sacraments, therefore, do visibly graff us into the fellowship of Christ and his saints, *who were invisibly grafted by his grace, BEFORE we were partakers of the Sacraments*; but, by receiving of the Sacraments, we do now open and make manifest of whose body we should be and are members; the Lord, with his signs or marks, by his minister, also visibly marking us for his own household and for his own people."

Then at page 1047, we have these words:—

"For, as we deny not that we are grafted into the body of Christ by partaking of the Sacraments . . . so we have elsewhere shewed . . . *that the FIRST beginning of our uniting or fellowship with Christ is not wrought by the Sacraments*; but that the same uniting or fellowship, which was founded and grounded upon the promise, and by the grace of God through the Holy Ghost, was communicated unto us and ours; yea, even *BEFORE the use of the Sacraments*; is continued and sealed unto us by the participation or receiving of the Sacraments."

At page 1006, we have these words:—

"Whereas, it is objected,—that, by a certain heavenly covenant, it is so appointed by God that Sacraments should have grace in themselves, and should from themselves, as by pipes, convey abroad the water of grace unto those that are thirsty;—that is alleged without warrant of the Scripture, and is repugnant unto true religion. . . . *The holy and elect people of God are NOT THEN FIRST OF ALL partakers of the first grace of God, and heavenly gifts, when they receive the Sacraments. For they enjoy the things BEFORE they be partakers of the Signs. [The godly are FIRST justified, and received into favour, BEFORE they be made partakers of the Sacraments.]*—In the margin.] For, it is plainly declared unto us that Abraham our father was justified

before he was circumcised. And who gathereth [not] thereby, that justification was not exhibited and given unto him by the Sacrament of Circumcision; but rather that that righteousness, which he by faith *before* possessed, was by the Sacrament sealed and confirmed unto him? And, moreover, who will not thereof gather that we, which are the sons of Abraham, are after no other manner justified, than it appeareth that our father was justified; and that our Sacraments work no further in us than they did in him? Especially since the nature of the Sacraments of the people of the Old Testament and ours is all one. . . . The Eunuch (Acts viii. 36) believed *before* he received Baptism; therefore, *BEFORE he received Baptism HE WAS BORN of God*, in whom he dwelled and God in him: he was just and acceptable in the sight of God; and, moreover, he had also life in himself: and therefore *the Baptism which followed DID NOT GIVE that to the Eunuch which he had BEFORE*; but it became unto him a testimony of the truth, and a seal of the righteousness which came by faith; and therewithal to assure unto him the continuance and increase of God's gifts. . . . Forasmuch as Cornelius with his household received the Holy Ghost *BEFORE they were baptized*, it is manifest that *he did NOT obtain the Holy Ghost as given FIRST by Baptism or with Baptism*. Again, we read in the Acts of the Apostles, 'They that gladly received the word of Peter were baptized.' (Acts ii. 41.) Therefore, *BEFORE they were baptized of Peter, they obtained the grace of God through faith*. For why, I pray you, do we baptize our infants? Is it because they believe with their heart, and confess with their mouth? I think not. Do we not therefore baptize them, because God hath commanded them to be brought unto him? Because he hath promised that he will be our God, and the God of our seed after us? To be short: because we believe that God of his mere grace and mercy, in the blood of Jesus Christ, hath cleansed and adopted them, and appointed them to be heirs of eternal life? *We, therefore, baptizing infants for these causes, do abundantly testify that there is NOT FIRST given unto them in Baptism; but that there is sealed and confirmed (THAT) WHICH THEY HAD BEFORE.*"

What is this but the doctrine of *prevenient grace*, taught and enjoined by all the Bishops of the Church of England *then*, though condemned as heresy by one of the Bishops of the Church of England now?

Everything that he predicates of the adult he brings down to the infant. In passage after passage, and page after page, he shews that the adult and the infant stand precisely on the same footing. He had no different theory

to offer with respect to the one from that which he applied to the other. Neither has the Church of England. She leaves the subject in her Articles in such a position that the same principle applies to infants and adults; and Mr. Gorham has judged rightly in applying it as he has done, acting in conformity with the Church herself.

The passages I have now read are sufficient to shew the principles which Bullinger inculcated on the subject of Baptism; and the doctrine taught by him was adopted by all the Bishops of the day.

It is observable that Bullinger bases himself and builds altogether on the authority of Scripture. The points which he establishes are chiefly,—

First, That Baptism under the Gospel succeeded to circumcision under the law.

Secondly, That the children of believers are (as such) the subjects of Baptism.

Thirdly, That Baptism (as the seal of spiritual life already imparted) does not create a union to Christ, but follows upon a union previously existing.

Fourthly, That the *principle* on which Baptism is administered to adults being applicable also to infants, the ordinance is to be administered in like manner.

In the second series of the Zurich Letters, printed by the Parker Society, may be found a letter from Bishop Horn to Bullinger, headed, “The Order of Administration of Common Prayer, and the Sacraments, in the Church of England, at the time of Edward VI.” At page 356, Bishop Horn states the order of the Baptismal Service, and asks Bullinger for his remarks upon it. Bullinger, at page 357, answers by saying, “The ceremonies are very sober and concise,” but he makes no objection either to the doctrine or to the order of the Service. We have thus the authority of three persons, to whom these Services were submitted, Martyr, Bucer, and Bullinger, by each of whom they are approved. I have, therefore, established the fact, that the

views of Bullinger on Baptism were those entertained by Archbishop Cranmer in the year 1552; and by Whitgift in the year 1586: and that those views precisely express the general tenor of the doctrine held by Mr. Gorham; and on account of which he has been stigmatised as unsound by the Bishop of Exeter in the year 1848.

I proceed now to point out the works which were selected as proper to put into the hands of Students at the University of Oxford, in the year 1596, which is a little later in point of date than the authorities I have hitherto quoted. I refer to "*Wood's Historia et Antiquitates Oxoniensis*," Vol. i. page 296:—

"Sub hæc de eradicandis penitus Pontificiorum apud nos reliquiis sollicita erat Academia, quæ id propterea negotii spectatâ tum eruditione Doctoribus demandavit; quibus permissa est potestas statutum hunc pridem in finem conditum evolvere, & prout opus videretur auctius ac emendatius reddere. Munere suo summâ fide curaue fungebantur. Delegati, Statutumque cum additamentis quibusdam in Juventutis literariæ fructum & veritatis evangelicæ incrementum dilucidatis, Concilio Academico, solenniter indicto, detulerunt; eorum vero quæ hac de re transegerant Capita præcipua Registro in margine allegato accipe."

These were the propositions:—

"1. Ad extirpandam hæresim quamcunque & ad informandum in vera pietate juventutem, libros hosce legendos censemus et statuimus, viz., catechismum Alexandri Novelli majorem Latinè, et Græcè, vel Catechismum Johannis Calvini Latinè, Græcè, et Hebraicè, vel Elementa Christianæ Religionis Andreæ Hyperii, vel Catechesin Heydelburgensem pro captu Auditorum et arbitrio legentium.

"2. His adjungi possunt Henrici Bullingeri Catechesis pro Adultis, et Institutiones Calvini, vel Apologiæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, vel Articuli Religionis in Synodo Londinensi conscripti et auctoritate Regia Editi, cum explicatione locorum Communium testimoniis à Sacra Scriptura aut interdum è patribus desumptis. Ad primam lectionem juniores, ad secundam provectiores omnes, nullo gradu insignitos astringi volumus.

"3. Catechismos omnes, sanæ huic doctrinæ contrarios, aliosque libros superstitiosos et papisticos legi et haberi interdiximus."

So that, in order to extirpate all remains of heresy and

Romish Doctrine in the University of Oxford, these were the books and the teachers to be resorted to.

I have not been able to consult the Catechism of Bullinger; but after the extracts I have given from his other Works, we may sufficiently infer what sort of doctrine would be taught in it.

"Calvin's Institutes" is a work well known.

Can it be even suggested that any variation was then known between the Articles and these books? Was it not then considered that the Articles were identical with the teaching in these books? Are they not put together? There is an option given to the Students of Oxford in which they will be examined. So far as the University of Oxford is concerned, in 1596 these books were considered an exact exposition of the Articles, and a commentary upon them. The doctrine was then considered as being precisely the same in both.

I must now, therefore, call attention to a few of these books. The first I take is "Nowell's Catechism;" and surely that is one that I might have reasonably expected to hear mentioned by the other side. It was written by Nowell, the Dean of St. Paul's, and submitted to the Convocation. In passing the Lower House, it was altered to the form in which it now appears; the Lower House adopting it, and bringing it to the Upper House; not, indeed, as "Nowell's Catechism," but as their own, so much were they pleased with it. Several extracts from it are to be found in the Bishop's Charge; but we have not heard one word about it from his Counsel; so that, as it should seem, some friend of the Bishop's must have called his Lordship's attention to the book, and have convinced him that it was not a desirable work to be produced in this Court in support of his Lordship's views. There are in this book expressions in respect of Baptism *generally*, which are as strong as those of any other author: and of these the Bishop of Exeter has made considerable use in

his Charge. Such extracts might be expected to pass current among his own Clergy, who would never dream of testing the accuracy of quotations made by their Diocesan; but I am afraid that, here, after all we have seen, we cannot afford to be so unsuspicious: and I must, therefore, shew to the Court why a book so well known as this, and of authority in the Church so high as to be second only to "Jewell's Apology," has not been commented upon or alluded to at all.

Under the heading, "THE FOURTH PART OF RELIGION," the Catechist says:—

"Tell me, therefore, what is a Sacrament?"

"It is an outward testifying of God's good-will and bountifulness toward us, through Christ, by a visible sign representing an invisible and spiritual grace, by which the promises of God, touching forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation, given through Christ, are, as it were, *sealed*, and the truth of them is more certainly *confirmed* in our hearts.

"Of how many parts consisteth a Sacrament?"

"Of two parts: the outward element, or visible sign, and invisible grace.

"Why would God so have us to use outward signs?"

"Surely we are not endued with mind and understanding so heavenly and divine, that the graces of God do appear clearly of themselves to us, as it were to angels. By this mean, therefore, God hath provided for our weakness, that we which are earthly and blind, should *in outward elements and figures, as it were in certain glasses*, behold the heavenly graces which otherwise we were not able to see. And greatly for our behoof it is that God's promises should be also presented to our senses, that they may be *confirmed* to our minds without doubting.

"But is it not a manifest proof of infidelity in us, not to give sure faith to God's promises, unless we be underproped with such helps?"

"Surely we are endued with slender and imperfect faith so long as we are in this world, and yet we cease not to be faithful. For the remnants of distrust, which alway stick in our flesh, do shew the weakness of our faith, but yet do not utterly quench it. These remnants of distrust, though we cannot altogether shake off, yet we must with continual increasing even to the end of our life travail toward perfection of faith, *in which endeavour the use of Sacraments doth much further us.*

"Is there any other cause why the Lord would also have the use of external signs practised?"

"The Lord did furthermore ordain his mysteries to this end: that they should be certain marks and tokens of our *profession*, whereby we should, as it were, bear witness of our faith before men, and should plainly shew that we are partakers of God's benefits with the rest of the godly, and that we have all one concord and consent of religion with them, and should *openly testify* that we are not ashamed of the name of Christians, and be called the disciples of Christ.

"Thou conceivest well the right understanding concerning the visible signs and outward use of the Sacraments. But whereas, secondly, thou givest to the Sacraments the strength and efficacy to seal and confirm God's promises in our hearts, thou seemest to assign to them the proper offices of the Holy Ghost.

"To lighten and give bright clearness to men's minds and souls, and to make their consciences quiet and in security, as *they* be indeed, so ought *they* to be accounted the proper work of the Holy Ghost alone, and to be imputed to him, and this praise not to be transferred to any other. But this is no impediment but that God may give to his mysteries the second place in quieting and establishing our minds and consciences, *but yet so that nothing be abated from the virtue of his Spirit*. Wherefore we must determine that the outward element hath neither of itself nor in itself inclosed the force and efficacy of the Sacrament, but that the same wholly floweth from the Spirit of God, as out of a spring-head, and is by the divine mysteries, which are ordained by the Lord for this end, conveyed unto us.

"How many Sacraments hath God ordained in his Church?"

"Two.

"Which be they?"

"Baptism and the holy supper, which are commonly used among all the faithful. For by the one we are born again, and by the other we are nourished to everlasting life.

"Then tell me first what thou thinkest of Baptism?"

"Whereas by nature we are the children of wrath, that is, strangers from the Church, which is God's household, *Baptism is, as it were, a certain entry*, by which we are received into the Church, whereof we also receive a most substantial *testimony*, that we are now in the number of the household, and also of the children of God; yea, and that we are joined and grafted into the body of Christ, and become his members, and do grow into one body with him.

"Thou saidest before that a Sacrament consisteth of two parts, the outward sign and inward grace. What is the outward sign in Baptism?"

"Water; wherein the person baptized is dipped or sprinkled with it *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

"What is the secret and spiritual grace?

"It is of two sorts; that is, *forgiveness of sins, and regeneration*: both which in the same outward sign have their full and express resemblance.

"How so?

"First, as the uncleannesses of the body are washed away with water, so the spots of the soul are washed away by the forgiveness of sins. Secondly, *the beginning of regeneration*, that is, the mortifying of our nature, is *expressed*, by dipping in the water, or by sprinkling of it. Finally, when we by and by rise up again out of the water, under which we be for a short time, the new life, which is the other part, and *the end of our regeneration*, is thereby *represented*.

"Thou seemest to make the water but a certain figure of divine things.

"*It is a figure indeed*, but not empty or deceitful, but such as *hath the truth* of the things themselves joined and knit unto it. For, as in Baptism God truly delivereth us forgiveness of sins and newness of life, so do we certainly receive them. For God forbid that we should think that God mocketh and deceiveth us with vain figures.

"*Do we not, then, obtain forgiveness of sins by the outward washing or sprinkling of water?*

"*No.* For only Christ hath with his blood washed and clean washed away the spots of our souls. This honour, therefore, it is not lawful to give to the outward element. But the Holy Ghost, as it were, sprinkling our consciences with that holy blood, wiping away all the spots of sin, maketh us clean before God. Of this cleansing of our sins we have a seal and pledge in the Sacrament.

"*But whence have we regeneration?*

"*None other ways but from the death and resurrection of Christ.* For by the force of Christ's death our old man is, after a certain manner, crucified and mortified, and the corruptness of our nature is, as it were, buried, that it no more live and be strong in us. And by the beneficial mean of his resurrection, he giveth us grace to be newly formed unto a new life, to obey the righteousness of God.

"*Do all generally, and without difference, receive this grace?*

"*The only faithful receive this fruit*: but the unbelieving, in refusing the promises offered them by God, shut up the entry against themselves, and go away empty. Yet do they not thereby make that the Sacraments lose their force and nature.

"Tell me then, briefly, in what things the use of Baptism consisteth?

"In faith and repentance. For, first, we must with assured confidence hold it determined in our hearts, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from all filthiness of sin, and so be acceptable to God, and that his Spirit dwelleth within us. And then we must continually, with all our power and endeavour, travail in mortifying our flesh, and obeying the righteousness of God, and must by godly life declare to all men that we have in Baptism, as it were, put on Christ, and have his Spirit given us.

"Since infants cannot by age perform those things that thou speakest of, why are they baptized?"

"That faith and repentance go before Baptism is required only in persons so grown in years, that by age they are capable of both. *But to infants the promise made to the Church by Christ, in whose faith they are baptized*, shall for the present time be sufficient; and then afterward, when they are grown to years, they must needs themselves acknowledge the truth of their Baptism, and have the force thereof to be lively in their souls, and to be represented in their life and behaviour.

"How shall we know that infants ought not to be kept from Baptism?"

"Seeing God, which never swerveth from truth, nor in anything strayeth from the right way, did not exclude infants in the Jewish Church from circumcision, neither ought our infants to be put back from Baptism. *Therefore, most great reason it is, that by Baptism, as by the print of a seal, it be assured to our infants that they be heirs of God's grace, and of the salvation promised to the seed of the faithful.*"

Not that they were worthy, as it has been put on the other side; but the promise of the Church, *facta per Christum*, is assigned as the reason. There is not a word about their worthiness.

From this book, as from others that I have already named, I might extend the quotations to a much greater length; but I stop here, having cited from it sufficiently for the Court to see why it was not quoted on behalf of the Bishop. It was thought much of in days that are passed, but times are now changed.

There is still another reason for silence respecting "Nowell's Catechism," viz., that it is neither more nor less than "Calvin's Catechism," with verbal alterations. I will just call attention to one or two answers which will

be sufficient to shew its correspondence with the tenets of those who, upon the doctrines treated of in the 17th Article (which is, I submit, closely connected with, and at the foundation of, the Article on Baptism), would be entirely at variance with the Bishop of Exeter.

Calvin, in his Catechism (which may be found in "Niemeyer's Collectio Confessionum"), at page 161, speaking of the Reformed Churches, says :—

"Quo igitur modo, et quando usum Sacramentorum sequitur effectus?"

"Quum ea fide recipimus, Christum in illis solum ejusque gratiam quærentes."

At page 163, there is this question and answer :—

"An promiscue in omnibus impletur hæc gratia?"

"Multi dum illi sua pravitate viam præcludunt, efficiunt, ut sibi sit inanis. Ita non nisi ad fideles solos pervenit fructus. Verum, inde nihil Sacramenti naturæ decedit."

And at 164, the following :—

"Qua ergo conditione baptizandi sunt infantes?"

"Ut testatum fiat, benedictionis fidelium semini promissæ ipsos esse hæredes; ut agnita, postquam adoleverint, Baptismi sui veritate, fructum ex eo percipiant ac proferant."

We have but to compare the two Catechisms by following the sequence of the questions in any part; it will be obvious that they are not only cast in the same mould, but are so nearly the same, that the one must have been borrowed from the other.

The same result arises from a comparison of the "Elementa Christianæ Religionis," by Hyperius, another of the books used in the University. I will not trouble the Court by going into it. The wording is different; but the whole view of the subject is accurately and precisely the same as has been already stated. A similar remark may be made with reference to the "Heidelberg Catechism," which is contained in the "Sylloge Confessionum." At page 342, the question is there put :—

"*Quid sunt Sacramenta?*"

The answer is:—

“Sunt sacra et in oculos incurrentia signa ac sigilla, ob eam causam a Deo instituta, ut per ea nobis promissionem Evangelii magis declaret et obsignet; quod scilicet non universis tantum, verum etiam singulis credentibus, propter unicum illud Christi sacrificium, in cruce peractum, gratis donet remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam.”

Then, “De Baptismo,” in the next page:—

“*Qua ratione in Baptismo admoneris et confirmaris, te unici illius sacrificii Christi participem esse?*”

“Quod Christus externum aquæ lavacrum mandavit, addita hac promissione, me non minus certo ipsius sanguine et Spiritu a sordibus animæ, hoc est, ab omnibus meis peccatis lavari, quam aqua extrinsecus ablutus sum, qua sordes corporis expurgari solent.”

“*Quid est sanguine et Spiritu Christi ablui?*”

“Est accipere a Deo remissionem peccatorum, gratis, propter sanguinem Christi, quem is pro nobis in suo sacrificio in cruce profudit: deinde etiam per Spiritum Sanctum renovari, et, ipso sanctificante, membrum Christi fieri, quo magis ac magis peccatis moriamur, et sancte inculcateque vivamus.”

Again, the Catechist asks:—

“*Est-ne ergo externus Baptismus aquæ ipsa peccatorum ablutio?*”

“Non est: Nam solus sanguis Jesu Christi purgat nos ab omni peccato.

“*Cur ergo Spiritus Sanctus Baptismum appellat lavacrum regenerationis, et ablutionem peccatorum?*”

“Deus non sine gravi causa sic loquitur: videlicet, non solum ut nos doceat, quemadmodum sordes corporis aqua purgantur; sic peccata nostra sanguine et Spiritu Christi expiari: verum multo magis, ut nobis hoc divino symbolo ac pignore certum faciat, nos non minus vere a peccatis nostris interna lotionem ablui, quam externa et visibili aqua abluti sumus.

“*Sunt-ne etiam infantes baptizandi?*”

“Omnino: Nam cum æque atque adulti ad fœdus et Ecclesiam Dei pertineant; cumque eis per sanguinem Christi, remissio peccatorum, et Spiritus Sanctus fidei effector, non minus quam adultis promittatur; per Baptismum Ecclesiæ Dei inserendi sunt, et ab infidelium liberis discernendi, itidem ut in veteri fœdere per Circumcisionem fiebat, cui in novo fœdere substitutus est Baptismus.”

That is the account given by this Catechism. The two

remaining books are Bullinger's Catechism for Adults, which (as I said before) I have not seen; and Calvin's Institutes, with which I need not trouble the Court, after quoting his Catechism. I have done enough to bring out distinctly and emphatically the views and tenets of both writers.

We have, therefore, before us the general theology of that day, as it was sanctioned in the University of Oxford: and, accordingly, it is no small point to shew that it does not afford an opening—not so much as a crevice, for the admission of what is asserted on the other side to be the doctrine, and the only doctrine of the Church of England. I do not deny that particular Churchmen have maintained what is stated on the other side; I do not quarrel with them for having so done; but I do think it rather hard (with this combined testimony as to what was held by the early Reformers, and the composers of the Liturgy and Articles) to charge a clergyman, who maintains precisely the same doctrine which they held, with heresy. What Mr. Gorham holds, I say was held by the men who drew up the Articles and compiled the Liturgy: it was sound doctrine then, can it be unsound now? And is the man who maintains it to be judicially declared unfit to hold a Living in the Church of England?

It has been stated by the Counsel on the other side that there were SOME FEW individuals, about the time of the Reformation, who held the views entertained by Mr. Gorham. We were not favoured with any of their names; but I must inquire a little as to who these FEW nameless individuals were.

The course pursued on the other side has been one of their own selection. They first make an attempt upon Cranmer. He, I may venture to say, has been recaptured, if he ever were in their possession. They then pounced upon Bishop Jewell. I have already shewn in part, and I will shew more fully ere long, that he does not belong to

them. And the next on whom they laid their hands was Hooker (to whom I will by and by advert). So that they have presented the Court with a sort of *Irish catena*, where all the links are wanting. We have not a single authority between Jewell and Hooker. I shall endeavour to pick up a few of these lost links, and shew who they were and what they taught; for, strange as it may appear to the Bishop and his Counsel, there did exist teaching in the Church of England during that period upon the subject of Baptism; and that teaching was uniform; there was then no abjuring of the principles of the Reformation.

The first to whom I call attention is Bishop Latimer. He was the friend of Cranmer, and one with him; maintaining the same doctrine, which he sealed with his blood. Surely he is a witness worthy of being heard. I quote then, though shortly, from his Sermons as given by the Parker Society, page 202 :—

“Beware, beware, ye diminish not this office; for if ye do, ye decay God’s power to all that do believe. Christ saith, consonant to the same, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit e supernis, non potest videre regnum Dei*: ‘Except a man be born again from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God.’ He must have a regeneration: and what is this regeneration? It is not to be christened in water, as these firebrands expound it, and nothing else. How is it to be expounded then? St. Peter sheweth that one place of Scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance and collation of places, that make Scripture plain. *Regeneramur autem*, saith St. Peter, ‘and we be born again:’ how? *Non ex semine mortali, sed immortalis*, ‘Not by a mortal seed, but by an immortal.’ What is this immortal seed? *Per sermonem Dei viventis*: ‘By the word of the living God;’ by the word of God preached and opened. **THUS COMETH IN OUR NEW BIRTH.**”

That is the testimony of Master Latimer, as he is quaintly styled.

The next I name is another honoured martyr (I may *here* at least call them so without offence); one to whom, as we have seen, Cranmer attributed that change in his views, which has been wondrously denied ever to have taken

place. I cite from Bishop Ridley's works, by the Parker Society, at page 56:—

"I mean that milk that is without all guile, as Peter does call it, that good word of God, that word of truth, which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome seed, not mortal but immortal, of the eternal and ever-living God, *whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God*; that seed of God, whereby the man of God, so being born, cannot sin, as John saith (he meaneth, so long as that seed doth abide in him); that holy Scripture which hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and give order in all righteousness, that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work: when, I say, I consider this holy and wholesome true word, that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point; what his blessed will and pleasure is, what his infinite great goodness and mercy is, what he hath done for us, how he hath given his own only dear beloved to death for our salvation

and likewise when I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy Catholic Church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body; all that is grounded upon God's holy word, and standeth in the profession of that faith, and obedience of those commandments, which are all contained and comprised in God's holy word: and furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounceth in his Gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses gives this benediction in the law, what ways the law, the Prophets, the Psalms, and all holy Scriptures, both new and old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord; what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favour; which is that faith that justifieth before God; and what is that charity, that doth pass and excel all

when, I say, I consider all these things

it may be evident and easy to perceive, that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish See, in these latter days, be as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial."

Now the Court will see that in this passage regeneration is used first, in respect to the Word, whereby the man is

born anew on receiving it; and secondly, in respect to the ordinance of Baptism; and the term is therefore used in both senses—one is called regeneration as well as the other. It is therefore a passage exemplifying that which is said by many of those writers, that they often applied the word which was significant of the blessing as belonging to Baptism itself. In his disputations at Oxford, page 240, Ridley says:—

“True it is, every Sacrament hath grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there is divers understanding of this word ‘habet,’ ‘hath:’ for the Sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace:”—

Precisely as it is expressed in the Article of our Church.

Now, I take another,—Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester,—he was also a martyr. At pages 74 and 75 of his Works, by the Parker Society, he says:—

“Although Baptism be a Sacrament to be received and honourably used of all men, yet it sanctifieth no man. And such as attribute the remission of sin unto the external sign doth offend. John (Matt. iii.) preached penitence in the desert and remission of sin in Christ. Such as confessed their faults he marked, and declared them to be of Christ’s Church. So that external Baptism was but an inauguration, or external consecration, of those that first believed, and were cleansed of their sin, as he declareth himself in the same place: *Ego (inquit) baptizo aquâ: I christen with water.* As though he said, My Baptism maketh no man the better; inwardly, it changeth no man: but I call and preach to the outward ear, I exhort unto penance, and such as say they do repent and would change the old sinful life, I wash with water. He that inwardly cleanseth is stronger than I. His grace it is only that purifieth the soul. I baptize in penance to say into a new life.

This new life cometh not until such time as Christ be known and received. Now to put on Christ is to live a new life. Such as be baptized must remember that penance and faith preceded this external sign; and in Christ the purgation was inwardly obtained before the external sign was given. So that there are two kinds of Baptism, and both necessary; the one interior, which is the cleansing of the heart, the drawing of the Father, the operation of the Holy Ghost; and this Baptism is in man when he believeth and trusteth that

Christ is the only author of his salvation. Thus be the infants examined concerning repentance and faith before they be baptized with water; at the contemplation of the which faith God purgeth the soul. Then is the exterior sign added, not to purge the heart, but to confirm, manifest, and open unto the world that this child is God's.

And likewise Baptism, with the repetition of the words, is a very Sacrament and sign, that the baptized creature should die from sin all his life, as Paul writeth, Rom. vi. Likewise, no man should condemn nor neglect this exterior sign for the commandment's sake: though it have no power to purge from sin, yet it confirmeth the purgation of sin, and the act of itself pleaseth God, for because the receivers thereof obey the will of his commandment.

* * * * *

So it is in the Church of Christ; man is made the brother of Christ and heir of eternal life by God's only mercy received by faith, before he receive any ceremony to confirm and manifest openly his right and title. He saith he believeth in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and believeth (he saith) the remission of sin, doth not only deny the devil, the world, and sin, but saith he will forsake him for ever, and serve his Master, the Lord of virtue, King of heaven and earth. Thus assured of God and cleansed from sin in Christ, he hath the livery of God given unto him, Baptism, the which no Christian should neglect, and yet not attribute his sanctification unto the external sign."

Nothing can be plainer, more simple, and, I may add, more directly in point, than this language.

Then, at page 127, we have this passage:—

"But first, by the word of God we must know what the nature and use of a Sacrament is. The office of a Sacrament is this: to shew unto us outwardly that the merits of Christ is made ours, for the promise sake which God hath made unto those that believe: and these Sacraments by faith doth applicate and apply outwardly unto him that in faith receiveth them, the same grace, the same mercy, the same benefits, that is represented by the Sacraments; but not so by the ministration of the Sacraments as though they that receive them were not before assured of the same graces and benefits represented by the Sacraments."

At page 129, we read:—

"These timorous judgments of men hath brought into the Church of Christ a wrong opinion of God, to say that he can nor doth save none but such as be received openly into the Church by Baptism, whereas this Sacrament and all other be but the confirmation of Christ's pro-

mises, which be in the person that receiveth the Sacraments before; or else these external signs availleth nothing."

Then he puts the question as to the testimony of infants—what they believe of God?

The answer is—"Credo."

And after assigning that as the reason why the Church allows the Sacrament to proceed, he says :—

"Before yet or he be christened, he maketh this solemn vow, full little regarded of all the world, in manner that he will, at the years of discretion, practise and live godly after this faith. The Minister saith unto him, 'Thou shalt renounce the devil with all his works.' The answer is, 'I do renounce him.' This reason and account of faith given with a most earnest and pretensed vow to live for ever virtuously, he is demanded whether he will be christened. 'I' [will] saith the testimonies. Then is he christened in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The which fact doth openly confirm the remission of sin received before by faith."

He says, the confession shews, by putting these words into the child's mouth, that it is in vain to say that this blessing is necessarily conveyed by the Sacraments, although it is confirmed by that, and the child is compelled to make the confession of faith by the mouth of others, not being able to do so in his own person.

There is here indeed a complete comment upon the Service of Baptism, and how it is to be taken in reference to infants. It is totally different from that which is now said to be the only doctrine which the Church of England teaches.

Hooper was thus strenuous in maintaining that the whole principle of Baptism, both of infants and adults, proceeded on placing them both in a situation to make, and requiring them to make, a declaration of faith previously to the administration of the Sacrament.

At page 523, is found the following passage :—

"Nothing is more expedient, to answer directly unto the question, than to consider the time of our fathers. They thought it best to name the Sacraments by the name of the thing that was represented by the

Sacraments. Yet, in many places of their writings they so interpretate themselves, that no man, except he will be wilfully blind, can say but they understood the Sacrament to signify, and not to be the thing signified; to *confirm*, and not to *exhibit* grace; to help, and not to give faith; to *seal*, and not to *win* the promise of God. Rom. iv.; to *shew what we be before the use of them*, and NOT to *make us the thing we declare to be after them*; to *shew we are Christ's*; to shew we be in grace, and not by them to be received into grace; to shew we be saved, and yet not to be saved by them; to shew we be regenerated, and not to be regenerated by them; thus the old doctors meant."

These words occur in a sermon of Hooper's, preached before the King and Council; immediately after which he was appointed to the See at Gloucester. It could not, therefore, have been considered as offensive doctrine in those days, and should not be so considered now.

But if that which is now contended for by the Bishop of Exeter be the doctrine of the Church of England, I have only to say, that those Archbishops and Bishops—one and all—by whose blood the Church of England was watered, should have been put down from their Bishoprics, and their memories ought now to be stigmatised, as ignorant men, who did not understand the Services they themselves compiled, or the meaning of the Articles they themselves drew up. It is an unheard of and monstrous proposition.

I now take Thomas Becon, Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, and Prebendary of Canterbury. In the Volume of his Works by the Parker Society, under the title of "Prayers," &c., at page 173, occurs the following passage:—

"By Baptism is he your Father, and you are born of him, and so become his son: therefore, can he none otherwise than love, tender, and favour you, and give you the inheritance of his heavenly kingdom. By Baptism are you made the brother of Christ, heir of God, and fellow-heir with Christ of everlasting glory; then may you be certain to be of that number that shall inherit eternal life. By Baptism is the Holy Ghost given you; then are you the son of God, and cannot perish."

I quote this passage, because, standing alone, it is all that the Bishop of Exeter himself could desire; shewing most clearly that Becon, like others, did not shrink from the use of the strongest language in reference to Baptism.

But on turning to his Catechism, at page 203, we find the following dialogue: the father, who is instructing his son, asks:—

“Father.—Is this Baptism of the Spirit necessary unto everlasting salvation?”

“Son.—So necessary, that without it the Baptism of water profiteth nothing. As in the Old Testament the circumcision of the flesh profited the Jews nothing at all without the circumcision of the Spirit; so likewise, in the New Testament, the Baptism of the water availeth nothing without the Baptism of the Spirit.”

At page 207, he proceeds:—

*“Forasmuch as now we entreat of Baptism, I would gladly hear thine opinion and learning concerning the Baptism of infants. * Is it then lawful to baptize young children in their infancy, and before they be able openly to confess their faith? For the children cannot profess their faith; therefore, say the adversaries, they ought not to be baptized. * * **

*“Son.—As concerning the profession of faith—that doth God require only of such as are grown up in age, and are already instructed in the mysteries of Christ’s religion; of the which sort there were many about the beginning of Christ’s Church, after Christ’s Ascension; which, after they were taught the Gospel, confessed their faith, and so were baptized, as we read in divers places of the Holy Scripture. But this toucheth not the infants. * * **

*For as the infants of the Hebrews were not secluded and put away from circumcision, which was also a Sacrament, or sign of God’s grace, mercy, and favour, to the Jews; even as Baptism is now to the Christians. * * **

Even so, in like manner, ought the infants of the Christians to be admitted into the Sacrament and sign of grace (I mean Baptism), although they cannot, by the reason of their tender age, profess their faith; forasmuch as God is now no less the God of the Christians and of their children, than he was in times past the God of the ‘Jews and of their children.’”

This is the ground that all the writers of that day take ; not that infants are as such worthy recipients. The reason for bringing infants to Baptism, and of their receiving the blessings attaching to Baptism, is put on different grounds altogether.

In the course of his subsequent discussion, he argues that infants are capable of the grace of God, necessarily attached to which is faith; therefore, he argues that they (infants) actually have it, and he, therefore, comes to that conclusion.

The whole Catechism proceeds upon this ground, viz., the necessity that the recipient of its blessings should have faith, and how it may be predicated of him. The obtaining the spiritual blessing is *not* made to depend on the Baptism itself, but upon the person being in a condition of faith to receive it; Baptism being to the child of Christian parents what circumcision was to the child under the law.

At page 214, another point is introduced, viz., the case of the Heathen :—

“ *Father.*—What sayest thou of the infants of the heathen and unbelieving ?

“ *Son.*—Forasmuch as they belong not unto the household of faith, neither are contained in this covenant, ‘I will be thy God and the God of thy seed;’ again : ‘I will pour out my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thy buds;’ therefore, I leave them to the judgment of God, to whom they either stand or fall. With the children of the faithful God hath made a sure and an everlasting covenant, that he will be their God and Saviour, yea, their most loving Father, and take them for his sons and heirs, as St. Peter saith : ‘The promise was made to you and to your children.’ ”

So that he leaves that question entirely unresolved, shewing that the principle he was speaking of did not apply there. Coming, therefore, to a case to which he could not apply the general principle laid down in treating of Baptism, and Scripture being silent thereon, he proceeds no further.

In page 218 :—

“Father.—My meaning is this : the Sacraments of the Old Law were only signs and tokens of God’s grace and favour to the Jews ; but the Sacraments of the New Testament, as I have heard say, are not only signs and tokens, notes and marks, testimonies and seals, of God’s grace, but they also give grace to such as receive them.

“Son.—This, your hearsay, hath sounded no truth in your ears. For this doctrine is contrary to the word of God, brought lately into the Church by the Papists, and is greatly injurious both to the grace of God and to the blood of Christ, and also to the dignity of faith.”

And still further, as follows :—

“If our Sacraments, which, of themselves, are nothing else than (as St. Paul termeth them) the ‘seals of righteousness,’ or of our righteous-making, by faith and witnesses, of God’s favour towards us, were of such virtue that they could give grace, that is, the favour of God, remission of sins, justification, the Holy Ghost, everlasting life, &c., by the work wrought, as they say, or by any power that remaineth in the outward signs ; so should it follow, that our justification depend not only of the free grace of God, but of works ; which is most false.”

The next authority I shall name is Launcelot Ridley. I am about to quote from Richmond’s “Selection from the Fathers,” vol. ii., pages 30, 31, and 135. He was appointed one of the three Prebends in Canterbury Cathedral, and was one of the men, faithful to the reformed doctrine, who were rejected in Mary’s reign ; all which furnishes a commentary on Cranmer’s own views. For these were the persons he gathered round him ; removing still further all doubt, if there could be any, as to what Cranmer himself maintained :—

“St. Paul saith that God hath elected and chosen us to be holy before him in love. * * * * * Who be elected of God to salvation, who be not, we cannot tell ; but by the outward works that they do.

Signs of God’s predestination are these :—First, God of his goodness electeth and chooseth whom he will, only of his mere mercy and goodness, without all the deservings of man : whom he hath elected, he calleth them for the most part by preaching of the Gospel, and by the hearing of the word of God, to faith in Christ Jesus ;

and through faith he justifieth them, forgiveth sins, and maketh them obedient to hear his word with gladness, to do that thing that God's word commandeth them to do in their state and calling. Wherefore, to hear the word of God with gladness, to believe it, to know that it is the mean by the which God hath ordained to bring to salvation them that believe, to order their lives according to the commandment of the word of God, to do all good works commanded in the Scriptures to the uttermost of their power, these be the signs of salvation."

And again, at page 135:—

"Here is shewed how Christ hath purged his Church truly in the fountain of water by his word. Although God of his mere mercy and goodness, without all man's deserts, or merits, only for Christ's sake, hath washed and purged man from sin: yet he useth a mean, by the which he cleanseth men from sin, which is by Baptism in water by the word of God; and so in Baptism are our sins taken away, and we from sins purged, cleansed, and regenerated in a new man, to live an holy life, according to the Spirit and will of God. It is not the water that washes us from our sins, but Christ by his word and his Spirit, given to us in Baptism, that washeth away our sins, that we have of Adam by carnal nature."

Again, at page 140:—

"Children cannot have faith, say the Anabaptists, wherefore they say that children should not be christened. To this reason I answer and say that children may have faith, although they have it not by hearing, yet they have faith by infusion of the Holy Ghost as the holy prophets had, and many holy men in the old law had * * * Therefore it is not impossible for children to have faith, as these Anabaptists falsely suppose.

Also, God regardeth no persons, but giveth his gifts without all regard of persons; a child or old man be counted as persons in Scripture: wherefore it followeth plainly that God giveth not faith to an old man, or denieth faith to a child because he is a child; for then God should regard persons, which he doth not."

I have called attention to these two passages, as conjointly shewing his system, which connects the doctrines set forth in the Seventeenth Article, with those contained in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-seventh Articles. I need hardly remark, with reference to the Divines who lived at or about the period of the Reformation, that their views of Baptism can only be rightly understood by taking them

in connexion with their tenets on Christian doctrine generally. For an extended examination would shew that men have at all times cast their views of Baptism in the mould of their doctrinal system; the character of which has thereby been imparted to it.

I will next take Bishop Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter in 1557. The volume from which I quote is entitled, "Truthful Lessons," and is published by the Parker Society. At page 80 we have this passage :—

"For the outward enjoying of the Sacraments of itself alone doth not reconcile us with God; but if they be used with faith, then, as St. Peter saith, Acts xv., through faith doth God purify their hearts."

And at page 411, this :—

"To use the Sacraments without faith profiteth not, but rather hurteth; to be loth to use them declareth a compulsion and unbelief. For though the water in Baptism be an outward thing, and cannot cleanse the soul from sin; yet the faithful do know right well that Christ, the eternal wisdom in whom they believe, did not institute it in vain; and therefore will not they condemn or leave unexercised the ordinance of their head, to whom they as members are incorporated by faith.

They know also that Sacraments are evidences of the promise and grace of God, which they after a visible and palpable manner do set forth, declare, and represent unto us."

I will next take two quotations from Archdeacon Philpot. In his early writings, page 275, he says :—

"Therefore since that infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ; it must needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as those that can profess their faith."

Again, on the same page :—

"'It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of these little ones do perish.' Also, 'He that receiveth one such little child in my name, receiveth me.' 'Take heed, therefore, that ye despise not one of these babes; for I tell you, their angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face.' And what may be said more plainer than this? It is not the will of the heavenly Father, that the infants should perish: whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto this grace, although

as yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promise, which is contained in Baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men; why should the sign of the promise, which is Baptism in water, be withdrawn from children; when Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an example did put before his disciples?"

At page 280, he says:—

"That children are accounted of Christ in the Gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words, 'He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea.' Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, believers; because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers."

Thus, again, the principle on which infants are brought to Baptism is explained by their being the children of faithful parents. He is pressed by the argument that they cannot have faith. He denies that, and says they may have faith, inasmuch as they can receive that which cannot be received except by faith.

In Dr. Calfhill's Answer to Martial, Parker edition, page 215, we have this:—

"Only this sign may be a precedent for us, that children appertain to the kingdom of God, that they ought not to be denied the sign, which are partakers of the grace; and therefore should be baptized."

I now come to Dean Turner—his "Old Learning and New." He was educated at Cambridge under the tuition of Bishop Latimer, but was in prison during parts of the reign of Henry VIII., on account of his adhering to the principles of Luther. He escaped, and returned in the reign of Edward VI., and was made Prebendary of Canterbury, Canon of Windsor, and Dean of Wells. He was subsequently an exile on the Continent, and it does not appear that he returned afterwards.

In Richmond's "Fathers of the English Church," vol. iv., page 603, he says, under the title, "The NEW Learning,"

(that is, Romanism,) that "It is enough and sufficient to receive the Sacraments effectually, and with truth to have no stop or let of deadly sin," &c.

He is therefore speaking of the *opus operatum*, which we saw in the Canons of the Council of Trent.

To which he opposes, "The OLD Learning," which he says is this :—

"The Gospel witnesseth, that we be saved, not by an holy sign, but through faith. Gen. xv. 'Abraham gave credence, and believed God, and that was reckoned to him for righteousness.' Rom. iv. and x. 'If a man believe from the heart, he shall be made righteous.' He saith not, that with the body an holy sign is taken unto righteousness. Also (Habakkuk ii. and Rom. i.), 'The just shall live by his faith.' He saith not, he shall live by the Sacrament. It followeth, therefore, after the old learning, that faith is necessary to be had in him that receiveth the Sacrament with fruit.

The authors of this learning, that are the youngest, wrote fifteen hundred years ago : then judge, I pray thee, good reader, whether our learning, which was taught only by the Prophets and Apostles so many years ago, ought rather to be called old learning, or theirs, whose writers wrote not above five hundred years past. The authors of our learning, and setters forth of the same, were Moses, Elias, Jeremiah, Daniel, David, Solomon, Peter, Paul, John, Luke, Mark, and Matthew; and the chief author of our learning was God himself. The authors of the Papists' learning are the Popes, Gregory, Boniface, Duns, Dorbell, Thomas de Aquino, with such others of the same sort. Now judge, which side hath better authors, the Papists, or we."

* * * *

I next come to some authorities a little later, viz., in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. And first, Archbishop Grindal, of whom we have not heard anything on the other side. He was Chaplain to Edward VI., and was made a Prebendary in Worcester. He fled abroad on the death of Edward VI., but returned on the accession of Elizabeth, and was made Bishop of London in 1559, Archbishop of York in 1570, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1575. He could not, therefore, be a person entirely ignorant of the doctrine of the Church during any part

of those periods. I shall, however, quote but one passage from his works, which consist chiefly of letters—there being little to lead him to this subject—but there is (at page 63, P. S. E.) “a faithful dialogue between Custom and Verity,” which is enough to let us into his views:—

“When faithful men receive the Sacrament, they think not of the bread, nor mark the wine, but they look further, and behold the very body of Christ spread upon the cross, and his very blood poured down for their sakes. So in Baptism men regard not greatly the water, but account themselves washed with the blood of Christ. So saith St. Paul: ‘Whatsoever we be that are baptized, we are washed in the blood of Christ.’ Wherefore *to the faithful receivers* you may say, that the water of Baptism is the blood of Christ, and the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ: for to them it is no less than if the natures were altered and changed.” * * *

The next authority that I quote is Archbishop Sandys; we have heard nothing of him; he was Bishop of Worcester in 1559, and following Grindal, became Bishop of London in 1570, and Archbishop of York in 1576. He lived, therefore, in a most important period of the Church. I quote from the Parker Society's edition of his works, page 87:—

“And as praying and hearing, so the worthy receiving of his Sacraments, is not only a sealing of his grace unto us, but also a testifying of our godliness towards him. * * * These are pledges and assurances of remission of sins, and salvation, purchased by the death of Christ. These are God's seals, added unto his most certain promises for the confirmation of our weak faith, weak by reason of the infirmity of our flesh. ‘For, if we were spiritual,’ saith Chrysostom, ‘we should not need these corporal signs.’” * * *

In a Sermon, page 190, he says:—

“Holiness is the end of our election: ‘He chose us before the foundations of the world, that we might be holy.’ Our holiness is a thing which God doth greatly desire. ‘This is the will of God, even your holiness.’ Unto holiness we are not only constrained by his commandment, but allured also by his example: ‘Be holy, because I

am holy.' Unto this we are called: 'For God did not call us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness.' So that, unless we esteem vilely of our own election, unless we refuse to satisfy the will, to obey the commandment, to follow the example, and to answer the vocation in which God hath called us, we must be holy."

I quote this passage not as bearing directly on the question before the Court, but as shewing that his general doctrine is in harmony and exact agreement with that of all the most eminent Divines of the Reformation.

At page 302, he says:—

"Now, as the graces of God purchased for us by Christ are offered unto us by the word, so are they also most lively and effectually by the Sacraments. Christ hath instituted and left in his Church, for our comfort and the confirmation of our faith, two Sacraments or seals: Baptism and the Lord's Supper. In Baptism the outward washing of the flesh declareth the inward purging and cleansing of the Spirit. In the Eucharist, or Supper of the Lord, our corporal tasting of the visible elements, bread and wine, sheweth the heavenly nourishing of our souls unto life by the mystical participation of the glorious body and blood of Christ."

At page 303, he says:—

"In his word he hath promised and certified us of remission of sins, in his death; of righteousness, in his merits; of life, in his resurrection; and in his ascension, of heavenly and everlasting glory. This promise we take hold on by faith, which is the instrument of our salvation: but because our faith is weak and staggering, through the frailty of our mortal flesh, he hath given us this visible Sacrament, as a seal and sure pledge of his irrevocable promise, for the more assurance and confirmation of our feeble faith. If a Prince gave out his Letters Patent of a gift, so long as the seal is not put to, the gift is not fully ratified; and the party to whom it is given thinketh not himself sufficiently assured of it. God's gift, without sealing, is sure; as he himself is all one, without changing; yet, to bear with our infirmity, and to make us more secure of his promise, to his writing and word he added these outward signs and seals, to establish our faith, and to certify us that his promise is most certain."

I will now return to the honoured name of Archbishop Whitgift, who was Margaret Professor of Cambridge, in

1554; Regius Professor, in 1567; Master of Trinity College, in 1567; Bishop of Worcester, in 1577; and Archbishop of Canterbury, from 1583 to 1604. I quote from his Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, page 179:—

“ You muste of necessitie admitte this distinction (some be *of* the Church, and some be onely *in* the Church), else can you not make any visible Church, for we only know, who be *in* the Church: but who be *of the Church* is knowne to him alone, who knoweth those that be his. If they communicate with us in hearing the worde, and receyving the Sacramentes, though otherwise they be drunkardes, superstitious, or infected with errorrs in doctrine, &c., yet must we count them in the Church, until they be cut of from it by excommunication. * * *

At page 523, he says:—

“ The outward sacramentall signes, are seales of God’s promises, and whosoever refuseth the same, shall never enjoy the promises, and although the necessitie of salvation is not so tyed to the Sacraments, that whosoever hath the externall signes, shall therefore be saved, yet is it so tyed unto them, that none can be saved, that willingly and wittingly is voide of them, and not partakers of them. Circumcision, which is a figure of Baptisme, had that necessitie joyned unto it, that whosoever lacked it, was not counted nor reckened amongst the people of God.” * * *

At page 621, he says:—

“ I must tell you, that I *make the holy Sacrament of Baptisme* no other kinde of passage, than God himself hath made it, and the Church of Christ hath ever used it. Good and evil, cleane and uncleane, holy and profane, must needes passe by it, except you will in deede in more ample and large manner tye the grace of God unto it, than ever did the Papists, and say that all that be baptized be also saved: or else ioyned with the Anabaptistes in this, that after Baptisme a man cannot sinne.

Who can tell whither he be holy or unholy, good or evill, cleane or uncleane, elect or reprobate, of the household of the Church, or not of the Church, that is baptized, be he infant, or at the yeares of discretion? I tell you plaine this assertion of yours savoureth very strongly of heresy, in my opinion.” * * *

At page 738, he says:—

“ You knowe very well that we teache farre otherwyse, and that it

is a certayne and true doctrine of all suche as professe the Gospell, that the outward signes of the Sacrament, doe not conteine in them grace, neither yet that the grace of God is of necessitie tyed unto them, but onely that they be seales of God's promyses, notes of Christianitie, testimonies and effectuell signes of the grace of God, and of our redemption in Christe Jesus; by the whiche the Spirite of God dothe invisiblye worke in us, not only the increase of fayth, but confirmation also." * * * *

And again:—

"These things being considered, it is no superstitious toy, but a godly and true saying, that Christe hathe sanctified all waters (used in baptysyng) to the mysticall washyng awaye of synne: not ascribing, or attributing washyng awaye of synne to the externall elemente, anye otherwyse, than instrumentallye, or in anye other respecte than for the similitude that Sacramentes have with the things whereof they be Sacramentes; for we know that wicked men may receyve these externall signes, and yet remaine the members of Sathan."

Nothing can be more explicit as to the possibility of separating the sign from the thing signified. All have the sign who are baptized; but the attainment of the thing signified is by faith.

A quotation was made from Rogers, on the Articles, as if he were a person who supported the statement of doctrine made on the other side. We must, therefore, look a little further into what he says. Rogers was Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, and dedicated his work to him; therefore, he lets us a little into the view held by the Archbishop himself. Writing on the Seventeenth Article, he lays down as propositions:—

"First. There is a predestination of men unto everlasting life.

"Second. That predestination hath been from everlasting.

"Third. They that are predestinate unto salvation cannot perish."

Other positions follow in regular succession; but I only refer to these, to shew that his general views of doctrine were in accordance with those whom I have given before.

I proceed to his Comment on the Twenty-fifth Article, at page 148.

He classes these following among the statements of adversaries to the truth, viz., that the Sacraments are merely civil and ceremonial badges of an outward Church—Again, that the Sacraments confer grace, *ex opere operato*; and also, that if infants die unbaptized, they cannot go to heaven. All these, he says, are opposed to the truth, as expressed in the Articles of our Church.

He adduces, as approving of them, the opinions that, as the circumcision *required* was not only outward of the body, but inward of the heart, the same may be predicated of Baptism, &c.

That faith is not necessarily tied unto the visible signs and Sacraments; that some have faith before they receive the Sacraments; that some, neither before, nor at the instant, nor yet after, will have faith; that in some the Sacraments do effectually work in process of time, by the help of God's word, read or preached, *which* engendereth faith; which, he adds, is the state principally of infants elected unto life and salvation, and increasing in years.

Thus he affirms that the blessings are conferred at different times, and are not necessarily bound to the Sacrament, or the time when it is administered.

In Proposition 2, page 171, he says:—

"Baptism is a sign or seal of the regeneration or new birth of Christians."

"The Proof from God's Word.—*Baptism*, by *St. Paul*, is called the *Washing of the New Birth*—by others, the Sacrament of the New Birth—to signify how they which rightly (as all do not) receive the same are ingrafted into the body of *Christ*; and, as by a seal, be assured from God that their sins be pardoned and forgiven; and themselves adopted for the children of God confirmed in the faith, and do increase in grace by virtue of prayer unto God.

"And this is the constant doctrine of all *Churches, Protestant and Reformed*."

I quote, *in extenso*, his words, at pages 172 and 173:—

"Although by express terms we be not commanded to baptize

young children, yet we believe that they are to be baptized, and that for these among other reasons:—

“1. The grace of God is universal, and pertaineth unto all; therefore, the sign or seal of grace is universal, and belongeth unto all, so well young as old.

“2. Baptism is unto us as Circumcision was unto the Jews; but the infants of the Jews were circumcised: therefore, the children of Christians are to be baptized.

“3. Children belong unto the Kingdom of Heaven, and are in the covenant; therefore, the sign of the covenant is not to be denied them.

“4. Christ gave in commandment that all should be baptized; therefore, young children are not to be exempted.

“5. Christ hath shed his blood as well for the washing away the sins of children, as of the elder sort; therefore, it is very necessary that they should be partakers of the Sacrament thereof.

“All Christian Churches allow of the Baptism of infants.”

What can be more simple, or more in accordance with the teaching and practice of the Church of England?

The next author to whom I will refer is Bishop Davenant, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, from 1609 to 1621; Master of Queen's College, from 1614 to 1621; and Bishop of Salisbury, from 1621 to 1641. I cite from his “Lectures upon the Epistle to the Colossians,” page 208. Commenting on the words of the Apostle, “Buried with him in Baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him, *through the faith of the operation of God*,” he says:—

“Non frustra est quod fides exigitur ab Apostolo, ut beneficium spiritualis resurrectionis obtineamus. Nam ut in Baptismo adultorum requiritur fides prævia, juxta dictum Salvatoris, Mar: xvi. 16.—‘Qui crediderit, et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit; qui non crediderit, condemnabitur.’ SIC AB ILLIS QUI BAPTIZATI CUM JAM INFANTES SUNT, REQUIRITUR FIDES SUBSEQUENS: QUAM SI NON PRÆSTITERINT POSTEA, RETINENT EXTERNAM TANTUMMODO BAPTISMI SANCTIFICATIONEM, INTERNA SANCTIFICATIONIS EFFECTA NON HABENT.”

“NE OPERI OPERATO FIDAMUS CUM PAPISTIS, sed inquiremus insuper an adsint nobis cætera omnia sine quibus interna Baptismi effecta non habentur.”

The next author that I cite is Bishop Prideaux,

Regius Professor, from 1615 to 1641; and Bishop of Worcester, from 1641 to 1671. He says, in his "Fasciculus Controversiarum Theologicarum," page 240, Ob. 6:—

"In Baptismo regeneratio urgetur, ut *opus Sacramenti operatum*, quod est *Papisticum*.

"*Resp*: Regenerationem tantum *externam et Sacramentalem* spondet *Baptismus*, quam *internam* S. S. regenerationem perficere, ex charitate pronunciat *Ecclesia*."

So he holds that, in reference to the regeneration, which is inward, the language of the Church is that of charity, not of certainty.

I now come to Robert Abbot, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, from 1612 to 1615, and Bishop of Salisbury from 1615 to 1617. In his reply to a treatise on the loss of justification and grace, he says:—

"Neque aliter sententiæ Scriptorum, sive veterum, sive recentiorum, interpretandæ sunt, aut certe non recte sapiunt, si aliter sacramentis efficacitatem attribuunt, quam *secundum propositum gratiæ, secundum beneplacitum voluntatis Dei*."

"Qui Jeremiam ab utero sanctificavit, et inter Jacob et Esau, in ipso utero inimicitias fecit, et Joannem Baptistam nondum natum tantum gaudio perfudit, idem quoque infantulos *pro arbitrio suo* Spiritu Sancto imbuat, et gratia, cujus ab ipsis fere incunabulis mira interdum effecta cernuntur; ut de *illorum* regeneratione dubitandum non sit, *quibus longiorem vitæ usuram negat*. Miror vero hic a nostro Lutheri verba proferri, (quanquam Lutheri non sunt, ea forma qua ponuntur ab illo) cujus, in eo loco, in verbis illis negotium est, oppugnare *Papisticum illud Scolasticorum pronunciatum, quod operis operati fundamentum est, QUOD HIC TAMEN NESCIIO QUA FRONTE TANQUAM CATHOLICÆ FIDEI DOGMA PROPONITUR*. '*Sacramenta semper conferre suum effectum non ponenti obicem*,' ubi e contra Lutherus Sacramentorum omnium efficaciam tantum a fide pendere defendit."

This, he says, is the foundation of the *opus operatum*: that the Sacraments are always effectual, where no obstruction intervenes. That this doctrine is the root and

bottom of the Papistical error, an error against which the Church of England protests :—

“Multi *videntur nobis, et dicuntur*, fideles, Deum timentes, justificati, regenerati, filii Dei, qui tamen *reipsa non sunt tales*, et Deo jam nunc longe alii sciuntur, quam videntur nobis.”

I now call attention to Dr. Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1580 to 1595. In his “*Prælectiones de Sacramentis*” he contests the propositions of Bellarmine, in the course of which occur the following passages, among so much of a like nature that here, as in other instances, the difficulty lies in selection :—

“*Sacramenta non modo significant, sed et obsignant, et actu exhibent id quod significant, in legitimo usu*; ut qui aut ad Baptismum aut ad Eucharistiam *recte præparatus* accedit, is una cum signis res ipsas percipit: non enim inania aut vacua signa sunt.” (Page 6.)

“*Sacramentum definitur ex legitimo usu et fine*, ut Baptismus lavacrum regenerationis dicitur, *non tamen regenerantur omnes qui aqua Baptismali lavantur*, sed ex parte Dei offerentis sic vocatur: hominum vero culpa est quod illis lavacrum regenerationis non sit, qui coram Deo et hominibus simulant.” (Page 10.)

“*Parvulos, etsi non credant, nec conscientias habeant, tamen in futuram fidem et penitentiam et conscientiam bonam baptizari*; non nempe necesse est, ut Calvinus ait, rem esse priorem signo temporis ordine; ergo infantium conscientiis divinæ benevolentiae promissio obsignatur, non dum infantes sunt, sed postea cum adoleverint, et usum rationis habere cœperint.” (Pp. 14, 15.)

“*Statuunt illi (i. e., Pontificii) conferri gratiam parvulis in Sacramentis Novi Testamenti sine fide, aut ullo bono motu. Hoc est tribuere vim Sacramentis per se et sua vi in parvulis; quod nos falsum esse dicimus. Non enim ex opere operato ne parvulis quidem gratiam conferri a Sacramentis affirmamus, ut necesse sit habere gratiam omnes, qui Sacramenta percipiunt.*” (Page 58.)

“*Ne quidem in parvulis. Non enim parvuli, eo tantum quod baptizantur, gratiam participant.*” (Page 63.)

“*Baptismum esse Sacramentum regenerationis, non negamus, etiam in parvulis; sed non ex opere operato. Deus operatur liberè et in Baptismo sanctificat, QUOS VULT.*” (Page 73.)

“*Si ad Ecclesiam pertinent, Spiritu ornantur, si in cœlum recipiuntur, a peccato purgantur; hoc fieri a Spiritu Sancto sine*

actu fidei: *neque, ut Papistæ dicunt, infundi hanc gratiam in Baptismo, sed obsignari, cum sancti sint infantes fidelium ante Baptismum Dei gratia, quæ cum ejus fœdere conjuncta est.* Non ergo baptizantur infantes, ut fiant sancti, sed quia sancti sunt, ideo baptizantur, id est, sigillum accipiunt." (Page 285.)

Another authority is Dr. Benefield, Margaret Professor of Divinity from 1613 to 1626. In his tract, entitled "The Sin against the Holy Ghost discovered," speaking of the Church visible and militant, described as being *tota sancta*, he says:—

"Neither should this seem strange, that hypocrites, dissemblers, and godless men are called *holy*. For whosoever give their names to Christ and are *baptized into his name*, though all of them be not *truly grafted into Christ*, nor all of them be truly baptized into Christ's death and resurrection; *that is, though all of them be not new born and regenerate*; yet in the Scripture phrase, after the custom of the Scriptures, they are all called *holy*, and have other such titles given them, as indeed may beseem the *blessed of the Lord*. In this sense, St. Paul saith, that all the Romans are *saints, beloved of God*, Rom. i. 7, and that all the Galatians are *sons of God*, Gal. iii. 26, and that all the Corinthians are *washed*, and sanctified, and justified, 1 Cor. vi. 11." (Page 102.)

"It followeth, that the places now alleged must be understood of that general sanctity, by which men may be said to be sanctified, justified, cleansed, washed, and the like; though *not truly, not before God*, yet *in the face of the Church, and before men*; as it were, sacramentally." (Page 104.)

"What thou art inwardly, and in the sight of God, God alone knoweth; he alone is *καρδιωγνωστης*, and sees and knows thy heart. Since thou hast given thy name to Christ, and hast *had the washing of the new birth, the Church IN CHARITY must judge of thee, as of one truly grafted into Christ, and truly regenerate*: but (I say) *what thou art inwardly and in the sight of God, God knoweth*; examine thou thyself." (Page 105.)

And now, Sir, I beg the Court's attention to a short review of the chain of evidence, including the links which I have gathered up in the broken catena presented to us on the other side. *Who* are my authorities for the doctrine of the Sacraments during the Reformation, and

the period immediately following it? We have *Archbishops of Canterbury*—Cranmer, and I may include Parker, (for he preached Bucer's funeral sermon, and eulogized his piety,) Grindal, and Whitgift. To these I may also add Bancroft, inasmuch as I have given the views of Rogers, his chaplain, who could hardly have been deemed by him heretical. We have *Archbishops of York*—Grindal, (I repeat some names for a reason which will appear in a few minutes,) Sandys, and I may claim Hutton as well, inasmuch as he united with Whitgift in the Lambeth Articles, in 1595. We have *Regius Professors at Oxford*: Peter Martyr, Lawrence Humfrey (of whom there can be little doubt, as he was the bosom friend and biographer of Bishop Jewel, and his companion in exile), Abbot, and Prideaux. We have *Margaret Professors of Divinity at Oxford*: Babington and Benefield. We have *Regius Professors at Cambridge*; Bucer and Whitgift, and the latter was also *Margaret Professor* at Cambridge; as was likewise the learned Fulke, to whom I shall return by and by. If I have omitted a very few names, it is simply because they have left no works, or none which bring their views on this matter to light. We have *Bishops*: Latimer, Jewel, Ridley, Hooper, Coverdale, Prideaux, Abbot, and Davenant. We have Divines besides the Professors above named,—Becon (Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer at the beginning of the Reformation), Launcelot Ridley, Archdeacon Philpot, Calphill, and Rogers (who was Chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft at the close of the half-century which followed the Reformation). I have thus exhausted the whole of the theology of the day; and there is not one of these great divines who has not supported Mr. Gorham's doctrine. Can it be argued, 'Oh! that doctrine was considered sound then; but a new era subsequently dawned on the Church, since which a sounder doctrine has prevailed?' Confessedly, then, the doctrine of the Bishop of Exeter was not the

doctrine of the era of the Reformation and of its Divines : and can we now turn round, and unchurch all the good and great theologians of that period ? It is impossible. The Bishop of Exeter, in his Charge, alludes to a Bill as being before Parliament for the correction of the offences of the Clergy, which he commends ; and by which, he says, the trial of heresy is to be committed to a Court comprehending the two Archbishops, three of the Bishops, and the Regius and Margaret Professors of Oxford and Cambridge. If such a statute had been passed in the days of Elizabeth, and Mr. Gorham had been cited to appear before it, the very Divines whom I have quoted would have been his judges, and the result must have been triumphant to him !

To justify the Bishop of Exeter, and uphold his refusal to institute Mr. Gorham, the Court must virtually pronounce a sentence of condemnation for heresy upon all those who laboured in the work of the Reformation ; and, as far as in it lies, must extinguish the light then kindled in the land.

There are a few more authorities to which I shall take the liberty of drawing the Court's attention.

The first of them is Bishop Barlow, who was Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and to Archbishop Whitgift. He was a Prebend of St. Paul's, then of Canterbury ; was afterwards made Dean of Chester, Bishop of Rochester, and was translated to Lincoln, where he remained till 1613. In a book dated from Lambeth Palace, and dedicated to Bancroft, then Bishop of London, entitled, "A Defence of the Articles of the Protestant Religion," he says :—

"Why ? but the Protestants account it only an external seal of a pre-received grace in God's predestination."

This is a quotation from his opponent's charge, and he answers :—

"He names none, yet Campian, whose ape he is, quotes Calvin

-(Rat. 8) but cites him not; Duraus cites him not.....The first fruit, which Master Calvin, among these principal effects, noteth (*Institut. lib. iv.*) in this Sacrament is * * * that as a prince, having purposed a favour to his subjects, grants it by his patents of mere indulgence, and ratifies it by his seal for more assurance; so God HAVING PURPOSED IN HIS ETERNAL COUNSEL TO SAVE SOME, which he cannot do before he has remitted their sins, therefore in Baptism he both confers this grace and confirms it UNTO THEM; * * confirms it visibly, sealing that which [is] concealed. So, that which was in his secret counsel, *propositum*, the purpose of his will by predestination, in Baptism he makes it *depositum*, the pledge of our salvation, and ONLY TO THE ELECT; * * and therefore that is no heresy nor fancy to call it a seal of a PRÆ-RECEIVED GRACE. * * * Also we urge the necessity of Baptism, especially to infants, lest they should seem either naturally innocent, or generally sanctified without it; yet not simply, but with a reservation first, of God's omnipotency, who being *agens liberrimum*, as the schoolmen speak, hath not tied his power to the Sacraments, saith Lombard (*ubi sup.*); secondly, of pre-eminence to Christ's Baptism wherein not he, but we were washed, the waters drenching him, but cleansing us." * * *

There is, in this portion of Bishop Barlow's "Defence," what corresponds with the answer of Mr. Gorham in regard to one of the difficulties suggested by the Bishop of Exeter, Mr. Gorham declining, however, to go into the depth of the doctrine of election, and to do which was not necessary for his purpose.

I will next call the Court's attention to Bishop Carleton, who was Bishop of Llandaff from 1617 to 1619, and of Chichester from 1619 to 1628. In his work, entitled, "An Examination of Montague's Appeal," at page 193, replying to the difficulty suggested by Montague, that, as many children who have been baptized fall away from God, it must be allowed, either that those who were once in a state of salvation may totally and finally fall away from it, or that it must be said that all that are baptized are saved.

Bishop Carleton replies thus:—

"This one poor objection seemeth to trouble the man. St. Augustine might easily have satisfied him. For he observeth a great difference

between them that are regenerate and justified only *Sacramento tenus*, and those that are regenerate and justified according to *the purpose of God's election*. Abraham received the Sacrament of circumcision as a seal of the righteousness of faith. The Sacrament is good to them to whom it is a seal of the righteousness of faith: but it is not a seal in all that receive the Sacrament; for MANY RECEIVE THE SIGN, WHICH HAVE NOT THE THING. Then, to proceed, Ismael was circumcised, and so was Isaac; but Ismael was born according to the flesh, and Isaac according to the Spirit. Now he was not justified, but only *Sacramento tenus*,—born according to the flesh; but he that was born according to the Spirit, was justified truly. * * *

“As saith St. Augustine, ‘The fountain of regeneration is common to all that are baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; but that grace, whereof these are Sacraments, whereby the members of the body of Christ are regenerate, with their head, is not common to all.’ Israel was called to be a people of God, yet all that were so called, were not so in truth; so all that receive Baptism are called the children of God, regenerate, justified; for to us they must be taken for such in charity, until they shew themselves other. But the author affirmeth, that ‘this is not left to men’s charity, as you,’ saith he, ‘do inform the world, because we are taught in the Service-book of our Church earnestly to believe ‘that Christ hath favourably received these infants that are baptized, that he hath embraced them with the arms of his mercy, that he hath given unto them the blessing of everlasting life; and out of that belief and persuasion we are to give thanks faithfully and devoutly for it.’ All this we receive, and make no doubt of it; but when we have said all, we must come to this, that *all this is nothing but the charity of the Church; and what more can you make of it?*’” * * *

And again I pray the Court’s attention to this, in reference to what has been urged as a comment on the Rubric, that children dying before they commit actual sin are saved.

“This was expressed by Dr. Overall in the Conference at Hampton Court. By this distinction of men regenerate and justified *Sacramento tenus* only, and such as are so *indeed according to God’s purpose* and calling, he might easily and fairly have satisfied himself in all these objections, which he draweth out of the Book of Homilies, and out of our Service-book. For first he hath not proved, that a justified man may fall away totally and finally; neither doth that follow from any words by him produced. And if it were proved in direct terms, how easy is the answer, that it is there meant of such as are regene-

rate and justified *Sacramento tenus*, and no further : for, that such fall away, it was never doubted in the Church, as St. Austin showeth.”

This is Bishop Carleton's view of the doctrine of Infant Baptism, as taught in the Church of England. And in what does Mr. Gorham's, as far as an opportunity of explanation has been afforded him, differ from it?

I now take Babington, who was Bishop of Llandaff in 1593 and 1594, then went to the Diocese of Exeter, and there remained till 1597, when he was translated to Worcester, where he continued till 1610. He has written a Commentary on Genesis, which he calls “Comfortable Notes on Genesis.” At page 53 he is speaking upon the seventeenth chapter and twelfth verse:—

“That the child was not circumcised before the eighth day, it teacheth us that God hath not tied salvation to the Sacrament, for it had been a hard thing in the Lord to defer it an hour if the child had perished without it. This answereth the fear of some good ones, and the false boldness of some bad ones, in these days, touching children that die without Baptism; for God is not worse to us under the Gospel, than he was to them under the law; neither less able to save now without Baptism, than in those days he was without circumcision, the seed of the faithful. This grace was not then free and now bound, then more and now less, then stronger and now weaker; far be it from us so to dream. David's child, when it died before the eighth day, he yet for all that cried not out for it as he did for Absalom that was circumcised, but said that he should go to it, refreshed himself, cheered his wife, and made his servants to wonder at his comfort. * * *

Again,—*Are covenants made by Sacraments, or only sealed by them?* Did not the primitive Church examine those of years in the faith before they baptized them? Why so, I pray you, but that they might shew it was *the covenant, not the seal, their faith, and not the Sacrament, which chiefly was to be regarded*, though the seal also in no case to be neglected, much less contemned. How many in times past deferred their Baptism for many years, as Constantine, Nazianzen, &c., not therein doing so well as they ought, but yet evidently shewing the faith of the Church then, that God without Baptism is able to save, and hath not tied his grace to any sign.”

In the whole of the passage he does not speak one word of the blessing of spiritual regeneration necessarily coming

to the infant in Baptism. The whole complexion of the argument is the other way; he is maintaining the possibility of the infant being saved, though he die unbaptized. Though the case is not precisely mentioned, it is a passage strictly in point, as implying his general view of the subject.

Bishop Beveridge has been quoted on the other side to shew that there is nothing necessary on our parts; that the infant, being baptized, is necessarily in a state of salvation; and some of his Commentaries upon the Articles have been cited, which were not completed and published until after his death. I will call the Court's attention to a statement contained in a Sermon, preached and published by himself, from which we may have a better mode of estimating what his opinions were. I quote from vol. i., Sermon xix., pp. 162, 163:—

“If a man be not created anew, whatsoever he hath or hath not, it is all one, he is no true Christian;—he doth not truly believe in Christ; for if he did, he would be a new creature.
 * * * * * By being *in Christ* the apostle can mean nothing less than such an union to him, whereby a man is reckoned as one with him, and so hath a real interest in whatsoever is in him. * * *
 But is there nothing required on our parts, in order to our being thus taken out of the first and put into the second man, even Christ, so as to be found *in him*? Yes, doubtless, it is required that we truly believe in him; for he himself saith, that ‘whosoever believeth in him shall not perish, but have everlasting life:’ and therefore, they who do not believe in him, must needs perish, which they would not do if they were in him. * * *
 Men may pretend what they will, and make what shew they can, of Christ's religion;—they may be *baptized* into his name, and continue members of his Church, * * *
 they may reverence his ministers, they may approach to his very table; and yet, after all, unless they become new creatures, they have nothing to do with him: they do not truly believe, and so have no part or interest in him.”

He does not say that spiritual regeneration is neces-

sarily conferred in the Baptism of infants; or that they are thereby made *spiritually* members of Christ. *That* he attributes not to Baptism, but to faith.

I now beg the Court's attention to Archbishop Usher*—“the great Usher,” as he is called by Bishop Horsley. In his “Sum and Substance of the Christian Religion,” he has gone at length into the subject; and I proceed to quote some passages from it.

At page 407:—

“*Doth the Minister, with the sign give the thing signified also ?*”

“No—he only dispenseth the signs, but it is God that giveth and dispenseth the things signified.

“*Is God always present to give the things signified to all them that the Minister giveth the sign ?*”

“No—not to all; for some in receiving the signs, receive together with them their own judgment. Yet he is always ready to give the thing signified to all those that are fit to receive the Sacraments; and to such persons the signs and things signified are always conjoined.

“*Who are the persons that are to receive the Sacraments ?*”

“All Christians that are prepared thereunto.”

Page 409:—“*How many kinds of Sacraments be there ?*”

“Two. The first, of the *admission* of God's children into the Church, there to be partakers of an everlasting communion with Christ. The second, of his *preservation* and nourishment therein.”

Page 411:—“*What is Baptism ?*”

“It is the Sacrament of the New Testament, by the *washing of water*, representing the powerful *washing* of the *blood* and *Spirit* of Christ; and so sealing our *regeneration* or new birth, our *entrance* into the covenant of grace, and our *ingrafting* into Christ, and into the body of

* The force of Usher's authority was so far acknowledged on the other side, that the Counsel for the Bishop of Exeter objected to the following quotations, as being made from a work published without his knowledge. *That* is true; but it might and should have been added, that “when the Archbishop learned that the publication of the work, though printed without his consent (from a MS. lent by him to a friend) ‘had been attended with good fruit,’ he acknowledged it as his, and sanctioned its publication.”

Christ, which is his Church. The word *Baptism* signifieth in general any *washing*; but here it is specially taken for that sacramental washing which sealeth unto those that are within God's covenant, their birth in Christ, and entrance into Christianity.

"How was this Sacrament ordained and brought into the Church, in the place of circumcision?"

"At the commandment of God, by the ministry of John, therefore called the Baptist: after sanctified and confirmed by our Saviour Christ himself, being baptized by John, and giving commission to his apostles and ministers to continue the same in his Church unto the end."

At page 415, he says:—

"Are all they then that are partakers of the outward washing of Baptism, partakers also of the inward washing of the Spirit? Doth this Sacrament seal up their Spiritual ingrafting into Christ to all who externally receive it?"

"Surely, no. Though God hath ordained these outward means for the conveyance of the inward grace to our souls; yet there is no necessity that we should tie the working of God's Spirit to the Sacraments more than to the word. The promises of salvation, Christ and all his benefits, are preached and offered to all in the ministry of the word: yet all hearers have not them conveyed to their souls by the Spirit; but those whom God hath ordained to life. So in the Sacraments, the outward elements are dispensed to all who make an outward profession of the Gospel (for in infants, their being born in the bosom of the Church is instead of an outward profession), because man is not able to distinguish corn from chaff: but the inward grace of the Sacrament is not communicated to all, but to those only who are heirs of those promises whereof the Sacraments are seals. For without a man have his name in the covenant, the seal set to it confirms nothing to him.

"What is the advantage, then, or benefit of Baptism to a common Christian?"

"The same as was the benefit of circumcision to the Jew outward; there is a general grace of Baptism which all the baptized partake of as a common favour; and that is their admission into the visible body of the Church, their matriculation and outward incorporating into the number of the worshippers of God by external communion. And so as circumcision was not only a seal of the righteousness which is by faith; but as an overplus, God appointed it to be like a wall of separation between Jew and Gentile; so is Baptism a badge of an outward member of the Church, a distinction from the common rout of heathen; and God thereby seals a right upon the party baptized to his ordi-

nances, that he may use them as his privileges, and wait for an inward blessing by them. Yet this is but the porch, the shell, and outside; all that are outwardly received into the visible Church are not spiritually ingrafted into the mystical body of Christ. Baptism always is attended upon by that general grace, but not always with this special."

Then he asks:—

"Doth the inward grace always accompany the outward sign of those of years baptized?"

"No; but only then when the profession of their faith is not outward only, and counterfeit, but sincere and hearty; they laying hold on Christ offered in the Sacrament by a lively faith, which is the hand to receive the mercies offered. 'If thou believest with all thy heart, thou may'st be baptized,' saith Philip to the Eunuch. For it were absurd to extend the benefit of the seal beyond the covenant. Now the covenant is made only to the faithful. *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not, whether he be baptized or no, shall be condemned.*' *Simon Magus* and *Julian*, and thousands of hypocrites and formalists, shall find no help in the day of the Lord by the holy water of the Baptism, without it be to increase their judgment.

"But what say you of infants baptized that are born in the Church; doth the inward grace in their Baptism always attend upon the outward sign?"

"Surely, no. The Sacrament of Baptism is effectual in infants, only to those, and to all those, who belong unto the election of grace. Which thing though we (in the judgment of charity) do judge of every particular infant, yet we have no ground to judge so of all in general; or if we should judge so, yet it is not any judgment of certainty; we may be mistaken.

* * * * *

"But how can an infant be capable of the grace of the Sacrament?"

"Very well. Though infants be not capable of the grace of the Sacrament by that way whereby the grown are, by hearing, conceiving, believing; yet it followeth not, that infants are not capable in and by another way. It is easy to distinguish between the gift conveyed, and the manner of conveying it. Faith is not of absolute necessity to all God's elect, but only to those to whom God affords means of believing. It is the application of Christ's righteousness that justifieth us, not our apprehending it: God can supply the defect of faith by his sanctifying Spirit, which can do all things on our part which faith should do. Do we not know that the sin of Adam is imputed to children, and they defiled by it, though they be not capable to understand it? Even so, the righteousness of Christ may be, and is, by God's secret and unknown way to elect infants: and so to those that are born deaf, and

fools, not capable of understanding. For though God tyeth us to means, yet not himself: he that hath said of infants, *to them belongs the Kingdom of God*, knows how to settle upon them the title of the kingdom. And we have no reason to think, but that even before or in, at or by the act of Baptism, the Spirit of Christ doth unite the soul of the elect infant to Christ, and clothe it with his righteousness, and impute unto it the title of a son or daughter by adoption, and the image of God by sanctification; and so fit it for the state of glory."

Page 419 :—

"*But is Baptism of absolute necessity to salvation?*

"Baptism as we have seen is an high Ordinance of God, and a means whereby he hath appointed to communicate Christ and his benefits to our souls; and therefore not to be neglected or slightly esteemed, but used with all reverence and thankful devotion when it may be had. Yet where God denieth it, either in regard of the shortness of the infant's life, or by any other unavoidable necessity, there comes no danger from the want of the Sacraments, but only from the contempt of them.

"*Who are here to be confuted?*

"First, the Papists—who have contrived in their own brains a room near hell, which they call (*Limbus infantum*) a receptacle for the souls of infants which die without Baptism; and where, as they feign, they are deprived of God's presence, and never partake of joy and happiness. Secondly, many ignorant people amongst us, who for want of better teaching, harbour in their minds such Popish conceits, especially that Baptism doth confer grace upon all by the work done, (for they commonly look no higher) and they conceive a kind of inherent virtue, and Christendom (as they call it) necessarily infused into children by having the water cast upon their faces."

Page 420 :—

"When God affordeth means, we must wait upon him for a blessing in them, and by them: when he doth not afford means, we must not tie the working of his grace to them. God who sanctifieth some in the womb, knows how to sanctify all his elect infants, and by his Spirit apply the merits of Christ unto them without the outward water. Some have the outward sign and not the inward grace; some have the inward grace and not the outward sign; we must not commit Idolatry by deifying the outward element. The rule will hold. It is not the want of the Sacraments, but the contempt or wilful neglect of them that is dangerous."

Proceeding with a few more authorities upon this part of the case, I quote next from Sharp, Archbishop of York from 1691 to 1714. In his 13th Sermon on "Regeneration," he says :—

“Regeneration, or the new birth, consists of two parts: an outward Baptism, which includes a profession of Christ's religion, and an inward sanctification of holiness of heart and life. This is expressly told us both by our Saviour and by St. Paul. By our Saviour, in the 3d of St. John, where he tells Nicodemus, first of all in general, ‘That except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.’ And in the next words he explains himself wherein this new birth doth more particularly consist: ‘Except a man,’ saith he, ‘be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.’ So that, to a man's being born again, there must go both the Baptism of water and the renewing of the Spirit. And exactly to the same purpose doth St. Paul express himself, in the 3d of Titus, verse 5: ‘God,’ saith he, ‘according to his mercy, hath saved us, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.’ *The washing of regeneration*, there, is the outward part of it. *The renewing of the Holy Ghost* is the inward.

“I wish those that are offended at our Church for teaching in her Offices that infants are regenerated by Baptism, would a little more have considered of this. I am sure both Scripture and antiquity speak in this language.

“The truth is, this term of regeneration or the new birth hath such a respect to Baptism, that it cannot be well understood without taking that in.

"Our Saviour, no doubt, took this expression from the Jews, as did abundance of others; and that which they meant by it was nothing else but a man's becoming a proselyte to their religion, and being admitted thereto by Baptism.

* *

“ But our Saviour further requires a man’s being born of the Spirit, as well as being born of water, in order to his entering into the kingdom of heaven ; that is to say, besides the outward Baptism and the outward profession, there must be an inward principle of virtue and holiness wrought in ‘ the professor by the Spirit of God.’ ”

I next quote from the work entitled, "A Plain and Full Exposition of the Catechism of the Church of England," by Bishop Nicholson, who is said, by Anthony

Wood, to have been a right learned Divine, well seen and read in the "Fathers and schoolmen"—and who, it is to be observed, formed one of the Upper House of Convocation, at the Review of the Liturgy, in 1661 and 1662.

On the words, "a member of Christ," he observes:—

"That is, to be reckoned Christians: for Christ is the head of the Church, and all Christians the body, of which every one that professeth Christian religion is a part, and is so to be esteemed. But these parts are of two sorts:—1st. Either *æquivocal* parts, *so taken and reputed by us, such as are a glass eye, or a wooden leg, to a man; which are so called, but truly are not such*; and whosoever profess the supernatural verities revealed by Christ, and make use of the holy Sacraments, may, in this sense, be called the members of Christ, because they are reckoned for parts of his visible body. 2nd. Or *univocal* parts. That in name and nature are true believers, which are indeed the true members of Christ, and do belong unto his mystical body, and receive from him as from their Head life, sense, and motion. They are united to him, live in him, and are informed by his Spirit. They are washed and regenerated by his blood. And they have his righteousness imputed unto them, by which they are freed from the guilt and punishment of sin. This the apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. i. 30: 'But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, redemption.' And *to these last only the two next privileges belong*: that is, to 'be the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.'

"All receive not the grace of God that receive the Sacrament of grace. But by them grace is offered to all the Church, though exhibited only to the faithful."

On the answer, that children are baptized because they promise faith and repentance by their sureties, he says:—

"This is an excellent answer, and being well examined will prove satisfactory. For it shows—

"1. How children perform this promise for faith and repentance.

"2. That they are bound to perform the promise, when they come to age, if they mean to have a part of the grace promised by God in Baptism.

"1. For the first, children perform not this promise in Baptism at that time actually; that is, they do not then actually repent and believe; neither is it necessary they should. For Baptism is not the covenant, *but the*

seal of it ; and the seal may be set where these are wanting. This is evident in the case of circumcision."

"Repentance is a firm resolution of amendment of life; faith an apprehension of God's promises; for the performance of which the sureties engage: but not absolutely that the child shall do it, for that is beyond their power to undertake; but conditionally, that he shall do it, or else *have no benefit by their engagement.*"

I now come to one of whom we have heard already, Bishop Pearson, he having been quoted on the other side. I will cite from his work on the Creed, where, commenting on the clause "the Communion of Saints," he says:—

"The penmen of the Old Testament do often speak of the people of Israel as of a holy nation, and God doth speak unto them as to a people holy unto himself; because he had chosen them out of all the nations of the world, and appropriated them to himself. Although, therefore, most of that nation were rebellious to him which called them, and void of all true, inherent, and actual sanctity; yet because they were all in that manner separated, they were all, as to the separation, called holy. In the like manner those of the New Testament, writing to such as were called, and had received and were baptized in the faith, give unto them all the name of saints, *as being in some manner such, by being called and baptized. For being baptized is a washing away of sin, and the purification from sin is a proper sanctification; being every one who is so called and baptized is thereby separated from the rest of the world which are not so, and all such separation is some kind of sanctification; being, though the work of grace be not perfectly wrought, yet when the means are used, WITHOUT SOMETHING APPEARING TO THE CONTRARY, WE OUGHT TO PRESUME OF THE GOOD EFFECT;* therefore all such as have been received into the Church, may be in some sense called holy. But because there is more than an outward vocation, *and a charitable presumption,* necessary to make a man holy; therefore we must find some other qualification which must make him really and truly such, not only by an extrinsical denomination, but by a real and internal affection. What this sanctity is, and who are capable of this title properly, we must learn out of the Gospel of Christ; by which alone, ever since the Church of Christ was founded, any man can become a saint. Now, by the tenor of the Gospel, we shall find that those are truly and properly saints, which are 'sanctified in Christ Jesus.' (1 Cor. i. 2.) First, in respect of THEIR HOLY FAITH, BY WHICH THEY ARE REGENERATED, for, 'Whosoever, believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God' (1 John v. 1); by

which they are purged, God himself 'purifying their hearts by faith' (Acts xv. 9); whereby they 'are washed, sanctified, and justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus' (1 Cor. vi. 11); 'in whom also, *after that they believe, they are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise.*' (Eph. i. 13.) Secondly, in respect of their conversation," &c.

What I have now read is, indeed, almost identical, it is in exact agreement with what we have seen in other writers already quoted; but the Court will bear in mind that Dr. Pearson has been cited on the other side. And independently of what is due to so great a man as Bishop Pearson, and his standard work on the Creed, I may remark, that one reason, at least, why the Bishop's Counsel deprecated the production of authorities on our side, may have arisen from their being aware that an examination, even of the works cited on behalf of the Bishop of Exeter, might prove (as, indeed, it has proved) to be very inconvenient.

I now turn to a Sermon by Bradford, Bishop of Carlisle, from 1718 to 1723, and of Rochester from 1723 to 1731. I quote from it the rather, as I find it published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; and the Court may be aware, that all the Archbishops and Bishops are *ex officio* members of the Committee of that Society. To the structure of the Sermon I would more particularly call attention.

The method which Bishop Bradford takes in handling his text, viz., Tit. iii. 4—7, is: 1. To shew why Baptism is styled *the washing of regeneration*. 2. To inquire how it becomes a means whereby we are saved. 3. To shew what *the renewing of the Holy Ghost* is, which St. Paul joins with the washing of regeneration. 4. To shew that THE WASHING OF REGENERATION MAY BE SEPARATED FROM THE RENEWING OF THE HOLY GHOST; and that, if it be, the end for which it is used cannot be obtained, the latter being absolutely necessary in order to our being *saved*, in the complete sense of that word. 5. To inquire how those

persons who have had the washing of regeneration, but are not yet renewed by the Divine Spirit, may attain that renovation.

This is the plan of the Sermon. Under his second division, after stating that Baptism is a sign and a means of grace, he adds:—

“And hence we may learn by the way clearly to understand these expressions in our Office of Baptism, which some have objected against, for want of considering the true import of them. Those who are regularly baptized are born again, or regenerated into a new state, entered upon new relations, obliged to live new lives; they are admitted into that body of which Jesus Christ is the head, and in which the Holy Spirit dwelleth, in order to quicken and sanctify, to direct and influence all its members, which do not resist and refuse his conduct. *This is baptismal regeneration.*”

Afterwards, under his next division, the Bishop proceeds to distinguish between this baptismal regeneration and spiritual regeneration, called in his text *the renewing of the Holy Ghost*.

In his fourth division, in which he shews that *the washing of regeneration*, or Baptism, may be separated from *the renewing of the Holy Ghost*, or spiritual regeneration, he says:—

“It is the way of the Scriptures to speak to and of the visible members of the Church of Christ under such appellations and expressions as may seem at first hearing to imply that they are all truly righteous or holy persons. Thus, the Apostles style those to whom they write in general, Saints; speak of them *as sanctified in Christ Jesus, chosen of God, buried with Christ in Baptism, risen again with him from the dead, sitting with him in heavenly places*: and particularly St. Paul says, ‘They were *saved by the washing of regeneration*,’ &c. The reason of which is, that they were visibly, by obligation and profession, all this, which was thus represented to them the more effectually to stir them up and engage them to live according to their profession and obligation. But yet it is too evident, from divers passages in their writings, and experience has confirmed to us the same thing, that, both in their times and ever since, there have been many who have enjoyed the *washing of regeneration*, whose tempers and manners have demonstrated that they were not *renewed by the Holy*

Ghost. . . . I take it for granted that I need not insist on any proof of this matter : but only further observe, that *baptismal regeneration*, when separated from *the renewing of the Holy Ghost*, must necessarily be ineffectual to the salvation of men's souls. . . . What St. Paul says of the Jews, may be repeated with respect to Christians also, with a little variation of the words ; *he is not a Christian who is one outwardly, neither is that regeneration* (namely, such as will be effectual to salvation), *which is outward in the flesh : but he is a Christian who is one inwardly, and regeneration is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men but of God.* (Rom. ii. 28, 29.) Many of those who were not only baptized in the name of Christ, but also received many excellent gifts from him, and by virtue thereof *prophesied*, and *had done* many wonderful works, yet will be rejected by him at the last day for having been workers of iniquity. (Matt. vii. 22, 23.)" •

Such were the sentiments of Bishop Bradford ; and such also not long since, and for a period during which seven editions of the Bishop's Sermon were printed and sold, were the sentiments of the venerable Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, who have characterized this Sermon in the edition printed no longer ago than 1811, as *judicious* and *scriptural*, and have recommended it *for settling the mind on the subject of baptismal and spiritual regeneration*. Such was the explanation given by Bishop Bradford, and adopted by them, of the expressions used in our Baptismal Service, that they refer to a baptismal, not necessarily connected with spiritual, regeneration.

I need not make any further citation from Bishop Bradford ; and proceed, therefore, to Downname, Bishop of Derry from 1616 to 1634. In his work on Perseverance he says:—

“ All that are truly justified shall be glorified, not all that are baptized shall be glorified. Therefore, not all that are baptized are truly justified. For the better clearing of this point, we are to use divers distinctions:—1. In respect of Baptism. For there is an outward Baptism, which is *the washing of the flesh* (1 Peter iii. 21) with water by the minister ; and an inward Baptism, which is the washing of the soul with the blood of Christ by the Holy Ghost. The former is also the engrafting of the party baptized into the body of the visible Church, which is the society of those who

profess the name of Christ; the other is the insition of him into the Society of *the invisible Church*, which is *the mystical body of Christ*, and *company of the elect*: the former insition is wrought by the Minister, the latter by the Holy Ghost, by whom (1 Cor. xii. 13) we are baptized into one body. But *not every one that hath the outward Baptism hath the inward*; no more than every one that had the external Circumcision of the flesh, had the inward Circumcision of the heart. (Rom. ii. 28, 29.)" • • • •

In the second place, speaking of the parties baptized, he says of adults:—

"Neither are any regenerated, but such as are elected; nor any justified but such as shall be saved. If, therefore, it be true, that not all which have the outward Baptism have the inward, then it is as certain, that not all that are baptized are justified, as that not all that are baptized shall be saved.

"Yea, but they that are baptized have put on Christ.

"Answer. Those that have been baptized into Christ, as the apostle speaketh (Gal. iii. 27), that is by Baptism engrafted into him, have put on Christ. But not all simply that have been baptized have put on Christ, unless you mean sacramentally. • • • •

For Sacraments are as seals annexed to the letters patent of God's evangelical promises, which assure or convey nothing but what is contained in the promise, and upon the same conditions. And it is absurd to extend the benefit of the Sacrament beyond the covenant . . . Here, therefore, is confuted that most pernicious doctrine of the Papists, that the Sacraments of the Gospel which they call the new Law, do confer grace, and that *ex opere operato*, to them in whom not only there is no grace," &c.

As touching infants, he says, the Sacrament of Baptism is a seal of the righteousness of faith, which is the righteousness of Christ; either to be applied by the Holy Ghost to the elect dying in their infancy, or to be apprehended also by faith in them who, living to years of discretion, have grace to believe. This he repeats under the third head of the effects of Baptism, and time thereof.

And then he adds:—

"Fourthly, we are to distinguish between the judgment of charity, and the judgment of certainty. For although, in the general, we know that not every one that is baptized is justified, or shall be saved,

yet, when we come to speak of particulars, we are to judge of them that are baptized that they are regenerated and justified, and that they shall be saved ; until they shall discover themselves not to be such. And so our Book of Common Prayer speaketh of them, as the Scriptures also teach us to speak to them that are baptized, that they are regenerated and engrafted into the body of Christ, though perhaps they be regenerated *Sacramento tenus*, and engrafted only into the body of his visible Church. But this judgment of charity is no matter of certainty, or of faith, but may be deceived.

"The like judgment of charity our Church conceiveth concerning all those that die in the bosom of the Church, and depart this life in the profession of the faith ; so that not all are justified before God, or sanctified by saving grace, who to us, judging according to charity, seem to be such." * * *

I observe, in passing, that no distinction is here made between the case of adults and that of infants, because the argument of the Bishop is not of a nature to require any.

I proceed now to Bishop Andrews, who was Bishop of Chichester from 1605 to 1609, Bishop of Ely from 1609 to 1618, and Bishop of Winchester from 1618 to 1626. In his Eighth Sermon, "Of the Sending of the Holy Ghost," at pages 248 and 249 of the third volume of "Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology," he says :—

"There goes more to Baptism, if it be as it should be, than *Baptismus fluminis* ; yea, I may boldly say, there goes more to it, if it be as it should, than *Baptismus sanguinis*." * *

For the Baptism of blood, that was due to every one of us, and each of us to have been baptized in his own blood, to have had three such immersions : that hath Christ quit us of. * *

But the other two parts he sets down precisely to Nicodemus, and in him to us all : 1, water ; 2, and the Holy Ghost. Now, the Holy Ghost we yet lack. So doth St. Paul—'baptized in the sea and the cloud,' by 'the sea,' meaning the elementary part, by 'the cloud, the celestial part of Baptism. Now, that of the cloud we have not yet. So doth St. Peter—'the doing away the soil of the flesh,' that Jordan can do ; but wherewith the conscience, or soul, should be presented before God, that is still wanting. And the Baptism of the body is but the body of Baptism ; the soul of Baptism is the Baptism of the soul : of the soul, with the blood of Christ, by the hand of the Holy Ghost, as of the body with water by the hand of the Baptist ; without which it is but a naked, a poor, and a dead element."

The next author is Bishop Hopkins, whose name has been introduced into this discussion, and I will call the Court's attention to who he was.

For which purpose I must diverge a little. In the Bishop of Exeter's Charge, we have a note about a private meeting of clergymen at a gentleman's house. Mr. Jukes attended it, and in his (published) Statement of what passed, which, the Bishop of Exeter says, "is marked by much of candour and charity, as well as talent; (qualities that his Lordship duly appreciates and commends), Mr. Jukes takes occasion to record the various expedients by which clergymen, who like himself, deny that doctrine, do yet, unlike him, endeavour to reconcile their denial with the words of the Baptismal Service."

Of this Statement, though marked with such estimable qualities, I must beg leave to say, that one other not less valuable appears to have been wanting; viz., veracity; as might well be expected from one thus betraying the confidence reposed in him; for, I am credibly informed, that by every one, each and all, of the clergymen so present, without exception, that account is repudiated as an untrue representation of what passed.

The duty of making such animadversions is not very agreeable; happily the occasions for them are of rare occurrence.

Not only is there the Bishop's reference to Mr. Jukes in his Charge; but we have his Counsel coming here and using this very Statement, on the authority of the Bishop of Exeter, as evidence against another clergyman (who is entirely unconnected with them all) that *he* holds unsound doctrine; though, without adopting the *Bishop's prayer* in the form of an indictment against those, who "to their shame believing as the Puritans believe, and as Mr. Jukes now believes, have not the faithfulness to suffer with them." I must say that it is rather an extraordinary mode of proceeding, from first to last. But, Sir, if Mr. Jukes be good evidence for anything, he is so for establish-

ing the fact, that in the days of Bishop Hopkins a great many persons followed him, and received his doctrine. I have a right to use that admission at any rate.

I therefore now refer the Court to Bishop Hopkins's work on "The Doctrine of the Two Sacraments," from which, as it applies directly to the whole subject of Baptism, and to the question immediately under consideration, I must quote rather more at large than from some other writers whom I have brought under the attention of the Court:—

"There are two ways of dedication unto God, whereby his title takes place, and what is so devoted becomes his. The one external, by men. . . . The other dedication is internal, and wrought by the effectual operation of the Holy Ghost. . . . As there is this twofold dedication or separation, so there is also a twofold sanctification external or ecclesiastical, internal, real, and spiritual."

In applying this distinction to Baptism, he says:—

"It is the immediate means of our external and relative sanctification unto God; all that are partakers of it are dedicated and separated unto him. . . . The Church of Christ may be considered either as visible or invisible. The visible Church of Christ on earth, consisting of those who profess the name of Christ and own his doctrine; joining together in a holy society and communion of worship, where it can be enjoyed. The invisible Church of Christ on earth is a number of true believers who have internal and invisible communion with Jesus Christ by their faith and his Spirit.

From this distinction it follows, all those who are members of the visible Church, may truly be called saints, and members of Christ, and the children and people of God; the children of God and members of Christ; and, thereupon, inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. * * * *

Doubtless, so far forth Baptism is a means of sanctification as it is the solemn admission of persons into the visible Church. . . . But this is only a relative sanctity, not a real: and many such saints and sanctified men there are, who shall never enter into heaven. . . . This sanctification, regeneration, and adoption, conferred upon us at our admission into the visible Church is external and ecclesiastical.

"2. Another position is this, That Baptism is not so the means of an internal and real sanctification, as if all to whom it is administered were thereby spiritually renewed, and made partakers of the Holy

Ghost in his saving grace. Though an external and ecclesiastical sanctification be effected by Baptism, *ex opere operato*, by the mere administration of that Holy Sacrament; yet so is *not an internal and habitual sanctification*: and that, whether we respect adult persons or infants, Baptism was not instituted to any such purpose that it should be an instrument of working a real change upon infants. . . . And, therefore, I judge it unsound doctrine, to affirm that Baptism doth confer real sanctification upon all infants as well as upon some adult persons who are made partakers of it.

"But here may some say, 'If Baptism doth not confer a real and internal regeneration on infants, who partake thereof; how then is it, that the Church hath appointed a prayer in the office of Baptism, wherein we bless God, that it hath pleased him to regenerate the baptized infant with his Holy Spirit?'"

"To this I answer, that the baptismal regeneration of infants is external and ecclesiastical. . . ."

"But how then are infants said, in Baptism, to be regenerated by the Holy Spirit, if he doth not inwardly sanctify them in and by that ordinance?"

"I answer—because the whole economy and dispensation of the kingdom of Christ is managed by the spirit of Christ, so that those who are internally sanctified, are regenerated by his effectual operation; and those who are only externally sanctified are regenerated by his public institution. Infants, therefore, are in Baptism regenerated by the Holy Ghost, because the Holy Spirit of God appoints this ordinance to receive them into the visible Church, which is the regenerate part and state of the world." * * *

This last passage turns the edge of the remark (founded on the Rubric there referred to), viz., that, according to the theory maintained by Mr. Gorham, children who live to commit actual sin should be baptized again.

The next authority I quote is Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln from 1570 to 1583, and Bishop of Winchester from 1583 to 1594. His testimony is valuable, inasmuch as he wrote against the Puritans. In his Second Sermon, treating of Baptism, there occurs the following passage:—

"As touching Baptism, we teach not only, as some falsely father upon us, that it is *signum initiale*, a sign whereby we be first consecrated Christians; but we add also, that we, *by faith* and the operation of the Holy Ghost, do put on Christ as a garment; that is, that we have him so fastened and appropriated to us, that he is ours, and we

his, and that he hideth and covereth our nakedness, according as St. Paul saith, 'As many as are baptized have put on Christ.' We believe and teach that Baptism is to Christians the fountain of life, whereby our sins are washed away. . . Yet do we not attribute the operation hereof to the water or outward element, but to the might of God's word, and the power of the Holy Ghost, WORKING BY FAITH, as Augustine saith, 'Quomodo fit quod aqua corpus tangat, et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo, non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur,' i. e., 'How cometh it to pass that water toucheth the body, and washeth the soul; but by the working of the Word; not because it is spoken, but because it is believed?' Where it is to be noted, that it is not the sound of the words uttered in the way of a charm by the Minister, but *the words believed in the hearts of the faithful, that maketh the promise of Christ and effect of the Sacrament to be fruitful to the receiver.*"

"Now, on the contrary part, let us consider how corruptly the Church of Rome teacheth, as touching this Sacrament, and how horribly they have abused it. First, they teach that Baptism doth confer grace and wash away our sins, *ex opere operato* that is, even by the very washing only of the water, though there be no good motion of faith or belief in the heart of him that is baptized."

Then he proceeds to defend the Baptism of children, on the ground of the promise to "believers and their seed," so often quoted and relied on. Bishop Cooper refers, as the Court sees, as all the Reformers did, to St. Augustine, from whose writings one short but expressive passage is prefixed to the volume which contains the account of Mr. Gorham's Examination:—

"Est miserabilis animæ servitus, SIGNA pro REBUS accipere."

From Bishop Geste I have to quote a few sentences; the more interesting, if not important, for this reason; that he had the principal hand in compiling the Prayer-book, at the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to whom he was Almoner. He was the first Protestant Bishop of Rochester, whence he was translated to Salisbury, in 1571.

In an Appendix to his "Life and Character," by Dugdale, there are some few remains of what he wrote. At page 116, he says:—

"Christ, both God and Man, with his Father and the Holy Ghost, is present at the Baptism of FAITHFUL infants."

That is a most remarkable expression introduced here, because this is the tenet of a person who had the whole arrangement of the Service practically in his hand:—

"Where they become embodied and incorporate thereto, it is to wit, where they eat his body and drink his blood as really as we do at his Supper." Also, "The right usage of God's word and his Sacraments is recounted their due honour, as their abusion dishonour. The word, Baptism and Absolution *through mean of true and obedient faith and cleansed conscience be condignly and accordingly received*, without either crouching or kneeling," &c. (Page 121.) And, "Because it is thought sufficient to use but a surplice in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the celebrating of the Communion. For if we should use another garment herein, it should seem to teach us, that higher and better things be given by it, than be given by the other Service, *which we must not believe*. For in Baptism we put on Christ. *In the word we eat and drink Christ*, as Hierome and Gregory write."

I quote that passage to shew that he does not hold any low views of Baptism. When speaking of it simply as a Sacrament, he speaks of it as all the other writers do; but when he speaks of it in reference to the recipients, although infants, he uses the remarkable words of limitation which I have quoted—TO THE FAITHFUL.

I will next give a passage from Dr. Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, and who, in 1613, was made Bishop of Oxford—rather an important period, because it is shortly after the time that the Canons bear date. The work is entitled—"Defence of the Government established in the Church of England." At page 482 he says:—

"The Papists, as they pronounce that none are saved, but only such as are baptized, so, for faith likewise, they hold this opinion, that there is no way of salvation but by faith, albeit, adding other things thereto: and seeing their infants not capable of faith, they affirm that they are saved, not by their own faith, but by the Church's faith, and by the faith of their godfathers and godmothers (as we call them) that in baptizing undertake and answer for them."

He proceeds to say that Luther, and others following him, perceiving the grossness of this error, affirm that infants have the substance of faith, though it be not able to shew itself in act. But he says:—

“That Calvin, seeing further into this matter, and that this in very deed is not faith; and considering that the salvation of all is properly to be attributed to God’s election and knowledge of them that are his, willesh to admit children, to receive the Sacrament of regeneration; because though not capable of faith they are capable of the thing signified, and of the favour of God the Father, and of the grace of Christ the Son, and of the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; yea, and that, although they die before they receive the *outward sign*, yet not to presume to judge them clean debarred and bereft of these inward graces; but to rely upon the promise of the Covenant, that he will not only be our God, and so our Saviour, that have faith in him; but the God and Saviour of our seed also, although yet they have not faith in him; and that we and our seed shall be his people. Neither only in an outward sanctification, whereby as the root, so the branches are holy; but by the inward sanctification and by salvation, so far as accordeth with his eternal election in Jesus Christ.” * * *

Another authority, I must quote, is Dr. Fulke. In his “Defence of the English translation of the Bible,” Parker Society’s edition, at page 450, he says:—

“‘That the Sacraments help nothing toward our salvation,’ is another of Martin’s slanders, no assertion of ours. For seeing we hold that the Sacraments are *seals* of God’s promises, to confirm our faith by which we are justified before him, how can we affirm that they help nothing to salvation? * * *

He frameth his spider’s web, first, ‘that we deprive them of all grace, virtue, and efficacy;’ because we do not include grace, virtue, and efficacy, within the external elements, or the ministry of man about them; but ascribe the same to the mighty work of God’s Spirit in his chosen children, which worketh all his gifts in all men according to the good pleasure of his own will: secondly, ‘that we make the Sacraments poor and beggarly elements:’ and thirdly, ‘either worse or no better than those of the old law.’ The spiritual matter, indeed, of the Sacraments of both the Testaments we confess to be Jesus Christ.” * * *

In his “Rhemish Testament,” we have one or two pas-

sages precisely of the same kind. He is here commenting on the Epistle to the Romans, chap. vi. verse 4; and he says:—

“Baptism is a seal of the justification by faith; and, therefore, assureth us of remission of sin, renovation, and sanctification, that God giveth unto us being justified. The application of Christ’s death, burial, and resurrection, is the proper work of the Holy Spirit, by whom we are regenerate, which is resembled and ratified by the external seal of Baptism, which testifieth that we are ingrafted into the similitude of his death and resurrection.” *

Again:—

“St. Paul ascribed our justification before to faith without works, therefore, he doth not now make Baptism a cause thereof.” *

“We that are baptized,” &c., verse 3, after quoting the Rhenish Annotation, he says:—

“The apostle, by express words, excluded circumcision from being a cause of justification, because Abraham was justified before he was circumcised; and Baptism succeeding in the place of circumcision, is a seal of justification by faith in all Christians, as circumcision was in Abraham; not a cause thereof.” * *

“Baptism in the elect is a seal of their incorporation and conformity unto the death and resurrection of Christ, but not a cause thereof. For all are not incorporate to Christ’s mystical body, but only the true members thereof.” * *

“By faith we have Christ’s justice imputed unto us, whereof Baptism is a seal: and the newness of spirit which is resident in us, is the work of the Holy Ghost, not of the external act of Baptism; for then it should be in all that are baptized, but it is only in the elect of God. For the reprobate, though they have the external seal of Baptism, yet they have not renovation of the spirit, neither are they regenerate to be God’s children; for if they were his children, they should be his heirs. (Rom. viii. 17.)” * *

I will trouble the Court with one passage from Dr. Mayer’s Catechism, as it was the first exposition published in 1623, after the addition of that part relating to the Sacraments, made by Bishop Overall, at the desire of the Hampton Court Conference. It was published by Royal Authority, and bears the Royal Arms; and the fourth

edition, from which I quote, being dated 1630, shews what a demand there had been for it, even in those days. Many more editions of it were printed afterwards:—

“The third thing in the answer is the addition: *wherein I was made a member of Christ, &c.* Which is not to be understood as though the outward washing of water did make the baptized partaker of these so excellent benefits; for it is true of the Sacraments of the New Testament which was said of them of the Old: *It is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sinne.* And in another place: *circumcision availeth nothing, but a new creature*, that the same may be said of Baptisme, see in the Pharises comming to John his Baptisme: ‘*O generation of vipers, [saith he,] who hath forewarned you to flee from the wrath to come?*’ Where he sheweth Baptisme to bee a means of escaping God’s wrath after an implicit manner, but withall requires virtue, which being away, Baptisme availeth not. And our Lord having commended Baptism to all, excepteth yet; saying, *hee that believeth not shall be damm’d.* The case herein is divers: first, in those that are of ripe yeares and understanding, there is required of them a due disposition of repentance and faith actually performed by and in themselves. But in infants it is enough that they pertaine to the covenant being borne in the bosome of the Church, and presented to the participation of gracious adoption by virtue of the faith of their parents.

“The right understanding then of this is, that in our Baptisme we are sacramentally or instrumentally made the children of God; and really and truly when we are together baptized with the Holy Ghost: if thou believe and be baptized thou art made inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, and this is ascribed unto Baptisme.

“*Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, &c.,* as converting, begetting unto Christ, and building men up in grace, is ascribed unto the officers of God’s Church. Wherefore let no man mistake this matter thinking himself safe when he is baptized, for he may, nay, infinite numbers doe, notwithstanding perish. * *

“*If it be further demanded, how can it be said of all baptized that they are members of Christ, seeing there are many hypocrites, who bear only the badge of Christ, but fight under the banner of Satan; I answer, that our Church doth not usurp the gift of prophecy, to take upon her to discern which of her children belong to GOD’S UNSEARCHABLE ELECTION, but in the judgment of charity embraceth them all, as God’s inheritance; and hereby teacheth every of us so to believe of ourselves by faith, and of others by charity.*”

That is the exposition, issued upon royal authority at that day.

I must now call the Court's attention to a work which was produced on the other side, viz., Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity;" for which purpose I refer to Keble's edition; and in the first instance to the preface by that learned editor, important on the present occasion, as it relates to the change which the opinions of Hooker underwent. He is the first authority, in point of time, quoted on the other side (Jewel of course excepted); and in all the earlier portion of his life and writings, he is found true to the principles of the Reformation. Mr. Keble, however, affirms that his views underwent a change, and rejoices in it.

The following passage occurs at page li:—

"In the annals of the Church, with more certainty perhaps than in those of the world, we may from time to time mark out what may be called *turning points*; points in which every thing seems to depend on some one critical event or coincidence, at the time, possibly, quite unobserved. It is awful* yet encouraging to look back on such times, after the lapse of ages and generations, and to observe the whole course of things tending some one evil way, up to the very instant when it pleased God in His mercy to interfere, and by methods of which we now can see more than contemporaries could, to rescue, it may be, not only that generation, but succeeding times also, and among the rest ourselves and our children from some form of apostacy or deadly heresy.

"One of these critical periods in our own Church history, if the editor mistake not, is the latter portion of the sixteenth century, and the character and views of Hooker mark him (if we may venture to judge of such a thing without irreverence) as one especially raised up to be the chief human instrument in the salutary interference which Divine Providence was then preparing."

I do not quarrel with Hooker for having changed his views: but as we have seen by the passages cited on the other side to what he changed, I shall take the liberty

* If not "awful" it is at least VERY SAD to find a Minister of the Church of England, whatever be his learning or accomplishments, writing thus of the period when she emerged from the darkness, and escaped from the tyranny, of apostate Rome.

of shewing FROM what he departed : it will be for the Court to form its own judgment, whether his earlier or his later opinions (supposing that he is to be made answerable for them) most coincided with that which I have shewn to be the doctrine held and taught by the Reformers, the men by whom the Articles and Liturgy were compiled.

The *change* was not simply an alteration in the opinions of Hooker on Sacramental grace. However lamentable that was, in so good and great a man,—it is still more grievous that the change in his views was nothing less than a departure from the avowed principles of the Reformers, and of all the divines who followed in their steps up to the time (1597), in which Hooker published the Fifth Book of his Polity, in which his partial retrogression towards the Romish doctrine of the Sacraments first appears. It was, (by the confession of his learned editor himself, Mr. Keble,) “A GRADUAL BUT DECISIVE CHANGE WHICH ENGLISH THEOLOGY WAS UNDERGOING *at the hands of Hooker*”! (Keble’s Preface to Hooker’s Works, p. cvi.) I may add, that it was a decisive change which the theology, even of the “Ecclesiastical Polity,” had undergone at the hands of its (in this particular) inconsistent Author. “The results of his publications,” adds his imprudent eulogist, “were great and presently perceptible: *a school of writers immediately sprung up*, who, by express reference, or style, or tone of thought, betray their admiration of Hooker; . . . Hooker had his full share in training up for the next generation, LAUD . . . and a multitude more such divines.” (Pp. cvi., cvii.) Such is the admission of those who bring forward Hooker as an authority against the doctrine which Mr. Gorham holds. I will now lay before the Court a few extracts from Hooker’s *earliest* writings, in which he states, in decisive language, the doctrine which he afterwards partially—and only partially abandoned.

About a year after he became Master of the Temple, on the 28th of March, 1586, he preached “A LEARNED

DISCOURSE OF JUSTIFICATION, WORKS, AND HOW THE FOUNDATION OF FAITH IS OVERTHROWN," which discourse contains the most unqualified condemnation of the Popish doctrine of justification by the unconditional infusion of grace to infants in Baptism. He enumerates that with other errors which he says is "the mystery of the Man of Sin."

The passages to which I refer will be found at pages 488 and 489 of the third volume of Keble's edition, where the sermon is printed at length :—

"It is applied unto infants through Baptism, without either faith or works, and in them it really taketh away original sin, and the punishment due unto it: it is applied unto infidels and wicked men in their first justification through Baptism, without works, yet not without faith; and it taketh away both sin actual and original, together with all whatsoever punishment eternal or temporal thereby deserved. Unto such as have attained the first justification, that is to say, the first receipt of grace, it is applied further by good works to the increase of former grace, which is the second justification. If they work more and more, grace doth more and more increase, and they are more and more justified. To such as have diminished it by venial sins, it is applied by holy water, Ave Marias, crossings, papal salutations, and such like, which serve for reparations of grace decayed. To such as have lost it through mortal sin, it is applied by the Sacrament (as they term it) of penance; which Sacrament hath force to confer grace anew, yet in such sort, that being so conferred, it hath not altogether so much power as at the first. For it only cleanseth out the stain or guilt of sin committed, and changeth the punishment eternal into a temporal satisfactory punishment here, if time do serve; if not, hereafter to be endured, except it be either lightened by masses, works of charity, pilgrimages, fasts, and such like; or else shortened by pardon for term, or by plenary pardon quite removed and taken away." * *

"This maze the Church of Rome doth cause her followers to tread, when they ask her the way of justification."

In perfect consistency with these truly Protestant views—views which he had imbibed from his learned and pious tutor, Dr. Reynolds, (and which had been maintained, as I have shown, by the Reformers of King Edward's days and by all the great divines throughout the reign of Elizabeth—) Hooker gives us, in the Third Book of his Polity, published by himself in 1594, the

following admirable remarks on the distinctions between the *invisible* and the *visible* Church, to the latter of which we are admitted "by the door of Baptism."

"That Church of Christ which we properly term his body mystical can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth, (albeit their natural persons be visible,) we do not discern under this property, whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. * * * Whatsoever we read in Scripture concerning the endless love and the saving mercy which God sheweth towards his Church, the only proper subject thereof is this Church. Concerning this flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promised, 'I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands.' They who are of this Society have such marks and notes of distinction from all others, as are not object unto our sense; only unto God, who seeth their hearts and understandeth all their secret cogitations, unto him they are clear and manifest. All men knew Nathaniel to be an Israelite. But our Saviour, piercing deeper, giveth further testimony of him than men could have done with such certainty as he did; 'Behold, indeed, an Israelite in whom is no guile.' * * *"

"The visible Church of Jesus Christ is one in outward profession of those things, which supernaturally appertain to every essence of Christianity, and are necessarily required in every particular Christian man. * * * First at Antioch, and afterwards throughout the whole world, all that are of the Church visible were called Christians even among the heathen. * * * But our naming the name of Christ is not enough to prove us Christians, unless we also embrace that faith which Christ hath published throughout the world. Now although we know the Christian faith and allow of it; yet, in this respect, we are but entering, entered we are not, into the visible Church before our admittance by the door of Baptism. Wherefore, immediately upon the acknowledgment of Christian faith, the eunuch (we see) was baptized by Philip; Paul by Ananias; by Peter a huge multitude, containing three thousand souls, which, being once baptized, were reckoned in the number of souls added to the visible Church.

"Is it then possible, that the selfsame men should belong both to the synagogue of Satan and to the Church of Jesus Christ? Unto that Church which is his *mystical* body, not possible. * * * Howbeit of the *visible* body and Church of Jesus Christ those may be and oftentimes are. * * *

"For lack of diligent observing the difference, first between the Church of God mystical and visible; then between the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more, sometimes less; the oversights are neither few nor light that have been committed." • • •

The quotations made on the other side were all of them, as I recollect, from the Fifth Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, published by Hooker in 1597. I admit that, in this later publication, he developes that CHANGE which Mr. Keble attributes to Hooker as a special blessing of Providence. What the tendency of that change and of those altered opinions was, we gather from the following sentence in Mr. Keble's preface, page 107 :—

"King James the Second, it is well known, ascribed to Hooker more than to any other writer, his own ill-starred conversion to Romanism : against which, nevertheless, if he had thought a little more impartially, he might have perceived that Hooker's works everywhere inculcate that which is the only sufficient antidote—respect for the true Church of the Fathers, as subsidiary to Scripture, and a witness of its true meaning." • • •

But while I admit, to a certain extent, the "CHANGE WHICH ENGLISH THEOLOGY UNDERWENT AT THE HANDS OF HOOKER," I can by no means admit it to the extent to which it has been alleged by Mr. Keble, much less to which it has been pressed by the advocates of the Bishop of Exeter. While Hooker, unhappily, in his later years, attributed the conferring of grace to Baptism, he by no means allowed that *every* lawfully baptized infant is consequently regenerated; he expressly limited that blessing to "*elect*" infants, as all other Divines up to his day had done.

"For as we are not naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church of God but by new birth; nor according to the manifest ordinary course of divine dispensation new born, but by that Baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians. In which respect, we justly hold it to be the door of our actual entrance into God's house; the first APPARENT beginning of life; A SEAL, PERHAPS, TO THE GRACE OF ELECTION BEFORE RECEIVED, but to our sanctification here a step that hath not any before it." (B. v. § 60.)
• • •

"Were St. Augustine now living, there are which would tell him, for his better instruction, that to say of a child 'it is elect,' and to say it doth believe, are all one; for which cause, sith no man is able precisely to affirm the one of any infant in particular, it followeth that 'precisely' and 'absolutely' we ought not to say the other. Which 'precise' and 'absolute terms' are needless in this case.

"*We speak of infants as the rule of piety alloweth* both to speak and think. They that can take to themselves in ordinary talk a charitable kind of liberty to name men of their own sort God's dear children (notwithstanding the large reign of hypocrisy) should not methinks be so strict and rigorous against the Church for PRESUMING *as it doth* of a Christian innocent. For when we know how Christ in general hath said that of such is the kingdom of heaven, which kingdom is *the inheritance of God's elect*, and do withal behold how his providence hath called them unto the first beginnings of eternal life, and presented them at the well-spring of new birth *wherein original sin is purged*, besides which sin there is no hinderance of their salvation known to us, as themselves will grant; hard it were that having so many fair inducements whereupon to ground, we should not be thought to utter at the least a truth as *probable and allowable* in terming any such particular infant an elect babe, as in presuming the like of others, whose safety nevertheless we are not absolutely able to warrant." (B. v. § 64.)

Moreover, Hooker denied that grace was absolutely tied to Sacraments. I lay the following extracts before the Court:—citing from Keble's edition: First, vol. ii. p. 265.

"If outward Baptism were a cause in itself possessed of that power either natural or supernatural, without the present operation whereof no such effect could possibly grow; it must then follow, that seeing effects do never prevent the necessary causes out of which they spring, no man could ever receive grace before Baptism: which being apparently both known, and also confessed, to be otherwise in many particulars; although in the next we make not Baptism a cause of grace; yet the grace which is given them with their Baptism, doth so far forth depend on the very outward Sacrament, that God will have it embraced, not only as a sign or token what we receive, but also as an instrument or mean whereby we receive grace."

Then, at page 270:—

"Touching infants which die unbaptized, sith they neither have the Sacrament itself, nor any sense or conceit thereof, the judgment of

many hath gone hard against them. But yet seeing GRACE IS NOT ABSOLUTELY TIED UNTO SACRAMENTS; and besides such is the lenity of God, that unto things altogether impossible he bindeth no man, but where we cannot do what is enjoined us accepteth our will to do instead of the deed itself:" &c.

And, at page 257-8:—

"Seeing, therefore, that grace is a consequent of Sacraments; a thing which accompanieth them as their end; a benefit which he that hath receiveth from God himself the author of Sacraments, and not from any other natural or supernatural quality in them; it may be hereby both understood that Sacraments are necessary, and that the manner of their necessity to life supernatural is not in all respects as food unto natural life, because they contain in themselves no vital force or efficacy; THEY ARE NOT PHYSICAL BUT MORAL INSTRUMENTS OF SALVATION, DUTIES OF SERVICE AND WORSHIP; WHICH, UNLESS WE PERFORM AS THE AUTHOR OF GRACE REQUIRETH, THEY ARE UNPROFITABLE. FOR ALL RECEIVE NOT THE GRACE OF GOD WHICH RECEIVE THE SACRAMENTS OF HIS GRACE. Neither is it ordinarily his will to bestow the grace of Sacraments on any, but by the Sacraments; which grace also they that receive by Sacraments, or with Sacraments, receive it from him and not from them. For of Sacraments the very same is true which Solomon's wisdom observeth in the brazen serpent: 'He that turned towards it was not healed by the thing he saw, but by thee, O Saviour of all.'"

These are the remarks which I have to offer to the Court on the writings of Hooker, as illustrated by his history; and be it remembered, Hooker was one of the leading authorities on the other side. Having disposed of them, it remains only to supply the further passages from Jewel, which have been promised to the Court; but I may take this opportunity of saying; that if my citations had not already been so numerous, there are many other writers of eminence who might have been added to the list.

Bishop Jewel, in his "Treatise on the Sacraments," Parker Soc. Ed., at page 1099, writes thus:—

"As princes' seals confirm and warrant their deeds and charters; so do the Sacraments witness unto our conscience that God's promises are true, and shall continue for ever. Thus doth God make known his secret purpose to his Church. First he declareth his mercy by his

word; then he sealeth it and assureth it by his Sacraments. In the word we have his promises; in the Sacraments we see them." *

Then, at page 1101:—

"What—are they nothing else but bare and naked signs? God forbid. They are the seals of God, heavenly tokens; and signs of the grace, and righteousness, and mercy, given and imputed to us. Circumcision was not a bare sign. 'That is not circumcision which is outward in the flesh,' saith Paul, . . . 'but the circumcision of the heart.' And, again: 'In Christ ye are circumcised with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ.' Even so is not Baptism any bare sign. 'Baptisma ejus,' saith Chrysostom, 'etiam passio ejus est:' 'Christ's Baptism is Christ's passion.' They are not bare signs: it were blasphemy so to say. The grace of God doth always work with his Sacraments; but we are taught not to seek that grace in the sign; but to assure ourselves, by receiving the sign, that by it is given us the thing signified. We are not washed from our sins by the water; we are not fed to eternal life by the bread and wine; but by the precious blood of our Saviour Christ, that lieth hid in these Sacraments."

Again, at page 1105:—

"Augustine saith: *Quare non ait, Mundi estis propter Baptismum quo loti estis . . . nisi quia etiam in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua?* 'Why doth Christ say, "Now ye are clean, because of the Baptism wherewith ye are washed: saving that because in the water it is the word that maketh clean?" Take away the word, and what is water more than water? It is the covenant, and promise, and mercy of God, which clotheth us with immortality, assureth our resurrection, by which we receive regeneration, forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation. His word declareth his love towards us; and that word is sealed and made good by Baptism. Our faith which are baptized, and our continuance in the profession which we have made, establisheth in us this grace which we receive. As it is said: *Verus Baptismus constat non tam, &c.* 'True Baptism standeth not so much in washing of the body as in the faith of the heart:' as the doctrine of the apostles hath taught us, saying, 'By faith purifying their hearts;' and in another place, 'Baptism saveth us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examining of a good conscience before God by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.' Therefore, Hierome saith: 'They that receive not Baptism with perfect faith, receive the water, but the Holy Ghost they receive not.'

"The water wherein we are baptized doth not cleanse the soul, but 'the blood of Jesus Christ his Son doth cleanse us from all sin.' Not

the water but the blood of Christ, reconcileth us unto God, strengtheneth our conscience, and worketh our redemption. We must seek salvation in Christ alone, and not in any outward thing."

And in his Controversy with Harding, P. S. E., page 519, he writes thus:—

"Likewise in Baptism, as the one part of that holy mystery is Christ's blood, so is the other part the material water. Neither are these parts joined together in place, but in mystery; and, therefore, they be oftentimes severed, and the one is received without the other."

I shall not think it necessary to trespass on the time of the Court by quoting further. I have brought a host of authorities, and were it necessary I could produce many more; but I forbear. Those that I have produced are sufficient for my purpose.

In closing that noble list of Martyrs and Confessors, learned men and sound Divines, burning and shining lights of the Reformed Church established in this kingdom, I beg to recal the attention of the Court to the position I am maintaining before it.

I am here to-day to defend Mr. Gorham, not to bring a charge of unsound doctrine against his accuser. I do not say that what is declared by his Counsel to be the doctrine of the Bishop of Exeter is wrong—I have nothing to do with that question, and shall not enter into it. I am here to shew; and I submit that I have satisfactorily shewn; first, from the tenor of the Articles themselves—and secondly, from the structure of the Services when rightly considered—that Mr. Gorham cannot be deemed to hold unsound views on this question. It is admitted that in the interpretation of one of the three Baptismal Services we must resort to a charitable hope; and I say that such an admission acknowledges the principle as alike applicable to all. I contend that those who drew up the Services, and those who lived nearest to the time when they were drawn up, did all resort to this mode of interpretation; they looked upon them all with one eye; and I

have, as I hope, shewn to the Court that it is impossible to understand the Services at all upon any other plan. Upon the principle of charitable interpretation there is a consistency and harmony throughout; upon any other principle there is none.

I have shewn, as the Court will remember, that these Services were put into the hands of men whose opinions on the subject have been stated at large. They were submitted to Martyr, Bucer, and Bullinger, in reference to the very subject now in hand; and neither one nor the other expressed the least dissatisfaction with them.

I have shewn that in Elizabeth's time, when those Services were revised, the same principle was adopted, as by all the authorities I have quoted of an earlier date; and I say it is impossible, it is nothing less than ridiculous and absurd, to contend that there is concealment and want of good faith, want of honesty or ingenuousness, in any man who resorts to that very mode of interpretation to which the framers of the Articles, and the compilers of the Liturgy, themselves resorted; and which others adopted, holding the same views when the Services were laid before them. I do not charge disingenuousness and dishonesty upon others because they adopt a different mode of interpretation. Whether Mr. Baptist Noel, or Mr. Jukes, or any or all of the Dissenters who ever wrote, have taken other views or not, is nothing to me. I have not quoted Dissenters: I want no aid from any enemy of the Church of England: I leave that to the Bishop of Exeter and his Counsel. The authorities to which I have confined myself are Archbishops, Bishops, and Divines of our Church—its founders, defenders, and ornaments; and from them I contend, that Mr. Gorham is entitled to take the ground he has adopted, and on which I stand on his behalf.

Sir, I can yet further strengthen this part of the argument by reference to Liturgies drawn up in that very age; shewing first what the framers of those Liturgies

held; and secondly, in what words—holding this view—they prepared a Baptismal Service for Infants. The Court will see how entirely they go hand in hand with us.

One of these Services for the Baptism of infants was drawn up by Luther; whose views of doctrine in reference to them we have in his Catechism Major. Modern Lutherans, as they call themselves, do not, I admit, hold what Luther himself did; but with that and with them I have nothing to do. Pfaff, in his "*Libri Symbolici*," at page 638, gives Luther's Catechism, which may be rendered thus:—

"The great efficacy and usefulness of Baptism being thus understood, let us further observe, *what sort of person it is* that receives such things as are offered by Baptism. This, again, is most beautifully and clearly expressed in these words: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. That is, faith alone makes a person worthy to receive with any profit this salutary and divine water. *Without faith Baptism profits nothing*, although in itself it cannot be denied to be a heavenly and inestimable treasure.

"*We bring a child to a Minister of the Church to be baptized in THIS HOPE AND PERSUASION, that it certainly believes; and we pray that God may give it faith.* 'The word being joined to the water Baptism is to be esteemed valid, even though faith is not present. For my faith does not produce Baptism, but recognises and apprehends Baptism. . . . *Even if children did not believe, which is by no means to be affirmed* (as has been already shewn), yet their Baptism would be true Baptism, nor ought any one to rebaptize them.'"

Luther's view, then, was, that in bringing a child to be baptized, we bring him with this hope; and in the mind, that he believes.

Now let us look to the Service which he drew up; for what I have just read is the greatest extent to which any one has gone or can go; (I do not say that it is Mr. Gorham's view, or that he by any means goes so far, that is quite another thing); I say that it is the utmost extent to which any one can go on the principle of charitable hypothesis; and therefore this is a very striking example.

How, then, did Luther draw up his Service? What is the prayer immediately after the Baptism?

"Omnipotens æterne Deus, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, invoco te super isto N. servo tuo, petenti baptismi tui dona, et gratiam tuam æternam per spiritualem regenerationem flagitanti: suscipe eum. Domine, et sicut dixisti: petite et accipietis, quærite et invenietis, pulsate et aperiatur; præbe igitur bonum petenti, aperi ostium pulsanti, ut hujus cœlestis lavacri benedictionem consequatur, et promissum regnum gratiæ tuæ accipiat, per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen."

It is the same as in our own Service. Is there disingenuousness here or anything of the sort? Here is Luther wholly unfettered, walking at liberty, holding the views which have just been explained to the Court; and he draws up the Service precisely on the same principle as ours, as far as it goes, and that is enough to establish the principle. It corresponds exactly with our own.

I now come to another Service, which has been referred to already.

But by some strange fatality it happens, in this case, that wherever, and by whomever, a mistake is made, it is adopted and brought to the Court on this question: and here is another, which, before I proceed, must be set right. The mistake, as originally made, is that of Archbishop Laurence, and being made by him the Bishop of Exeter takes it up, and his Counsel carry it on. It occurs in the Archbishop's Eighth Sermon, in reference to the Cologne Liturgy. Instead of being what they maintain, it is directly and pointedly against them.

The object of Archbishop Laurence is to fix upon the Seventeenth Article of our Church an Arminian sense in opposition to the Calvinistic; though it is expressly admitted; as it always has been, nor indeed can it be denied; that that Article was framed as it is in order to exclude neither party by it.

In the Eighth Sermon to which I am now referring, having argued that the sentiments and the very style of

the Lutherans were adopted by our Reformers, the Archbishop proceeds at page 174:—

“Having considered the whole of the Article, in a point of view which no less exhibits the moderation of our Church, than her wisdom and piety; I shall simply refer, in confirmation of what has been advanced, to our Baptismal Service, which everywhere proceeds upon the principles suggested. There we are directly taught the benignity of our gracious Creator towards us all without distinction; his election of us as Christians; and his subsequent rejection only of those, who, polluted by vice, divest themselves of that sacred character.”

Then after reciting some of the expressions in the Baptismal Service for Infants, he adds:—

“Was it possible for words more precise, distinct, and expressive, to be adopted? And yet there are writers who contend that all infants are not supposed to be thus regenerated and numbered among the elect of God; but only a fortunate few irrespectively chosen; regeneration not always taking place in point of fact, but only in the judgment of charity; and that the words upon which so much stress is laid, are only general expressions adapted to general forms.”

And now we come to the singular mistake into which the Archbishop has fallen, in his endeavour to confirm his theory, as to the Article, by reference to the Baptismal Service. Those, he says, who advance the argument to which he has just alluded, forget, or perhaps do not know, that the office of our Church is principally borrowed from that of the Lutherans, whose well-known sentiments on the subject it is unnecessary to repeat. And in a note to this passage, which we find at page 443, after stating that Melancthon and Bucer drew up a reformed Liturgy in 1543, and with it an exposition of several controverted points of faith for the use of the Archbishopric of Cologne, from which, he says, the occasional Services of our own Church seem to have been derived; he quotes as his authority one of the Epistles of Melancthon, in which he speaks of the use they had made of the Norimberg Liturgy: “*retinuit pleraque Bucerus*,” he says, and then in a few

words, to which I particularly beg the attention of the Court:—

“Et legi de *ceremoniis Baptismi et cœnæ Domini quæ IPSE (Bucer) composuit.*”

Here, then, we have the authority of Melancthon to the fact, that that portion of the work was Bucer's.

Now, after what I have shewn and proved from his own writings to have been Bucer's sentiments and views on this subject, it is a matter of indifference to me whether he belonged to the Reformed Church or the Lutheran; though it is quite a mistake to say that he belonged to the latter, all authority is the other way—*Walch's* “*Bibliotheca Theologica*” will prove it.

This important mistake involves the entire failure of the argument of Archbishop Laurence, and of those who found upon him; for they endeavour to fasten an Arminian or Lutheran sense upon our Service, by reason of its having been borrowed from one which is now shewn to have been the work of Bucer.

The argument of Archbishop Laurence is singularly unsuccessful: for it is shortly this:—The Seventeenth Article ought to receive an Arminian construction, because it is in conformity with an Arminian interpretation of our Baptismal Service: which Service is borrowed from one framed by Bucer, who, it turns out upon inquiry, was a Calvinist.

I have now a few remarks to make in reference to the Savoy Conference. And, inasmuch as in it is contained everything that bears even the semblance of *authority* on the other side, it is no matter of surprise that we have heard a great deal about it. To prevent all mistake, I admit at once, and without any hesitation, that there were present in that Conference those who have made statements, and who held opinions, quite consistent with that which is asserted by the Bishop of Exeter to be the doctrine of the Church of England. I am ready to admit that it was the case with several; and, having said that, I

have admitted all that can rightly be contended for on the other side ; for, it surely needs no lengthened argument to prove that the opinion of any set of men, Commissioners or others, whether unanimous or not, at a later period of the Church's history, can never change and subvert the whole doctrine of the Church of England up to that time. The Articles of the Church remain the same — the opinions of those by whom both the Articles and Liturgy were framed remain still the same ; sealed with their blood. What took place at a later period will shew indeed what opinions may be tolerated as not unsound : and I have taken no course of argument inconsistent with this : but further it cannot go ; it cannot overrule and destroy all the antecedent doctrines of the Church. With this single remark, I might dismiss all consideration of the much vaunted Savoy Conference ; for it cannot be allowed to any ministers of the Church, whether bishops or not, that they should perform the part of the ungrateful bird, that having found charitable admission to a nest which it did not build, and a house that is not its own, should use acquired strength to expel the builder and lawful proprietor.

I say, Sir, that I might at once dismiss the claim thus put in on behalf of the Savoy Conference ; but I desire to make some few observations upon it.

One obvious consideration arises upon the very terms of the Warrant for the Conference, which is given by Cardwell at page 300. It is simply :—

“To advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient Liturgies which have been used in the Church, in the primitive and purest times.” “They were to take into their serious and grave consideration, the several directions, rules, and forms of Prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon and about the same, and the several objections and exceptions which should be raised against the same. And if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments therein, as by and between the said Archbishop, Bishops, Doctors, and persons hereby required

and authorized to meet and advise as aforesaid, shall be agreed upon to be needful or expedient for the giving satisfaction unto tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity, in the Churches under His Majesty's protection and government: but avoiding, as much as might be, all unnecessary alterations of the forms and Liturgy wherewith the people were already acquainted, and have so long received in the Church of England."

So that all matters of *doctrine* were to be left untouched by the Commissioners. There is not one word about the Articles of the Church. The doctrines of the Church of England were not submitted to the consideration of the Commissioners; nor had they any right to interfere with them at all. It was simply an order to revise the Liturgy and the forms of worship, and nothing more.

I am not about to travel at any length into what preceded the issuing of that Commission; though, undoubtedly, useful light is thrown upon it by a consideration of earlier events.

We learn from Cardwell, as well as from other sources, that, before the overthrow of the monarchy, the minds of the people had been disturbed by proceedings in relation to ceremonials, which have been renewed in our own day. They were, in reality, at the foundation of the measure which we have now before us. Whatever effect the sad events, which in the meantime occurred, might have had upon the Ecclesiastics of that day; it is clear, from the Declaration of his Majesty King Charles the Second, issued in October, 1660, that they had produced no desire on his part to push matters to extremes again. "When we were in Holland," said the King in that Declaration, "we were attended by many grave and learned Ministers from hence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal assertors of the Presbyterian opinions; with whom we had as much conference as the multitude of affairs which were then upon us would permit us to have; and, to our great satisfaction and comfort, found them persons

full of affection to us—of zeal for the peace of the Church and State—and neither enemies, as they have been given out to be, to Episcopacy or Liturgy; but modestly to desire such alterations in either, as without shaking foundations, might best allay the present distempers, which the indisposition of the time, and the tenderness of some men's consciences had contracted."

It is clear, therefore, that a desire so to settle the worship and Services of the Church as might promote harmony in the State; and bring back into her Communion those whom his Majesty described in the terms I have just read; was the object in view. How far the spirit of that Declaration was carried out by others; and whether the Commissioners, who assembled at the Savoy Conference, or those whom they were appointed to meet, were most in fault (probably there was error on both sides); we cannot know, without a more faithful record of the proceedings at the Conference than has come down to us: certain it is, that reliance can be placed only upon the result; to the bearing of which upon the present question I will immediately advert. Nor, indeed, could anything that passed in Conference merely, be of either authority or importance; since it was only the expression of individual opinions, and that under circumstances not favourable to their calm and mature development. We are accustomed to look to the Acts of the Legislature for the expression of its mind—not to the previous debates in Parliament—yet, strange to say, the discussions at this Conference are alone referred to here; and I do not entertain a doubt, that, if we could see the questions relating to it proposed by the Bishop of Exeter to Mr. Gorham, we should find them to be of that inferential nature which I pointed out to the Court when the Homilies were under consideration; and which are not, as I submit, a very favourable specimen of Episcopal inquiry into the fitness of a Clerk for institution to a Living, on the presentation of the Crown.

Sir, I have said, and I repeat the observation, that the Report of the preliminary discussions in Conference, held at the Savoy, (if those discussions could be of value,) is such as cannot be used with any confidence or good effect. *It was complained of by the Nonconformists as being one-sided and untrue;* (as well as that the proceedings had been anything but impartial;) but it is a little remarkable, *from their own account of their proceedings,* that the Bishops who were Commissioners on that occasion were themselves rather puzzled about some of the Services; and were, in several instances, compelled to resort to the hypothetical and charitable interpretation which the Bishop of Exeter applies to the Service for Adult Baptism, though he inconsistently withholds it from that of infants.

Two or three instances of this occur in their own Report.

1. It had been objected that,—

“Throughout the several Offices, the phrase is such as presumes all persons (within the communion of the Church) to be regenerated, converted, and in an actual state of grace; which, had ecclesiastical discipline been truly and rigorously executed, in the exclusion of scandalous and obstinate sinners, might be better supposed; but there having been, and still being, a confessed want of that (as in the Liturgy is acknowledged) it cannot be rationally admitted in the utmost latitude of charity): we desire that this may be reformed.”

The answer to which, at page 342, is as follows:—

“The Church in her prayers useth no more offensive phrase than St. Paul uses when he writes to the Corinthians, Galatians, and others; calling them in general the Churches of God, sanctified in Christ Jesus, by vocation saints; amongst whom, notwithstanding, there were many, who by their known sins (which the apostle endeavoured to amend in them) were not properly such; yet he gives the denomination to the whole from the greater part, TO WHOM IN CHARITY IT WAS DUE, and puts the rest in mind what they have by their Baptism undertaken to be, and what they profess themselves to be: and our prayers, and the phrase of them surely supposes NO MORE than that they are saints by calling, sanctified in Christ Jesus, by their Baptism admitted into

Christ's congregation, and so to be RECKONED members of that society, till either they shall separate themselves by wilful schism, or be separated by legal excommunication; which they seem earnestly to desire, and so do we."

Again, it had been objected that the words in the Office for Confirmation,—

" 'Who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them the forgiveness of all their sins,' implied that all children brought to be confirmed have the Spirit of Christ, and forgiveness of all their sins; whereas, a great number of children at that age having committed many sins since their Baptism, do shew no evidence of serious repentance," &c.

The answer is,—

"It is CHARITABLY PRESUMED that notwithstanding the *frailties and slips* of their childhood, they have not totally lost what was in Baptism conferred upon them," &c.

But, as I have before observed, what passed in Conference concerns us little: it is with the result that we have to do; that result being the Act of Uniformity, establishing the Liturgy as now in use. Here we are once more on solid ground. Mr. Gorham is quite content to take the Prayer-book as it is. He makes no complaint against it; he finds no fault with it; *he does not say that the Catechism is wrong*; he leaves such assertions to those who represent the Bishop of Exeter. Whatever reasons the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference might have given, or might have had, for declining to accede to the suggested alterations, Mr. Gorham has no more to do with them than with the views and wishes of those by whom the alterations were proposed. The Services of the Church, as framed by our Reformers, providentially passed safe through the ordeal of the Savoy Conference, and came from it unhurt. Whatever might have been the views and wishes of either party, the happy result was, to transmit to posterity that great work of the Reformation in the form in which we possess it.

I must now return for a short time to Mr. Gorham's Examination. I commented on portions of it at the opening of my Address to the Court, and will avoid repetition as much as I can; but there are parts of it which I must notice, because they have been thrown in our teeth; and there are others that claim attention, with reference to the positions of law and the doctrines of the Church, which I have endeavoured, not unsuccessfully, I hope, to establish in the course of my argument.

The first subject of reproach occurs at the very outset of the Examination. Here is a clergyman, it is said, actually bold enough to deny, daring to deny, that the passage in John, cap. iii., applies to Baptism.

To this I answer, in the first place, that Mr. Gorham did no such thing. In framing with due caution his Answer to a Preliminary Inquiry, which had been worded with singular inaccuracy, he made the obvious remark, that the declaration of our Lord could only refer to Baptism, as a *Christian* ordinance, illustratively, or by accommodation—by anticipation, at the very utmost,—because it had not then been instituted as such. But suppose that he had gone further. Is it any Article of Faith that the expression in that passage *must* mean Baptism? Is it heresy to question it? Why, Dr. Whittaker, who was Regius Professor in one of our Universities, DENIES (in his *Prælectiones*) that it does; and Archbishop Whitgift puts it aside quite as much as Mr. Gorham, observing that divers interpretations have been given to it. Mr. Gorham did precisely what the Archbishop had done before him; and it would not have been anything very extraordinary if he had gone one step further, following the example of the learned Dr. Whittaker.*

This irrelevant matter arose entirely out of the Bishop of

* See Appendix.

Exeter's carelessness in framing his first Question. When correctly worded, a brief, straightforward, affirmative answer was given. And I repeat, at the close of my Address, what I said in the earlier part of it; that in every instance throughout the lengthened Examination, when a Question was *fairly* put, it was answered in like manner.

Mr. Gorham's position is plain, open, and intelligible; based, as it ought to be, upon the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church, as containing the clear exposition of doctrine.

The object of the Bishop was to confine the inquiry to the phraseology of the Services (with slight and unsatisfactory reference to the Homilies). His Lordship's view is to construe the Articles by the Services; and so entirely engrossed is he with the scheme, which he had inculcated upon his clergy, of making the Liturgy the chief if not the exclusive standard of doctrine, that he seems almost to have forgotten the contents of the Articles altogether. For in his Lordship's sixty-seventh Question, adopting the language of persevering remonstrance and confident reproof, he asks, in which of these does Mr. Gorham FIND THE EXPRESSIONS, OR ANYTHING EQUIVALENT TO THE EXPRESSIONS, OR ANYTHING WHICH JUSTIFIES THE EXPRESSIONS, "worthy recipients," and "unworthy recipients," on which he placed so much reliance? One can scarcely imagine; I know not at all how to account for such forgetfulness. Mr. Gorham has but to refer his Lordship, as he accordingly did, to the Twenty-fifth Article, as containing the very expressions "worthily" and "unworthily;" to the Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, and Twenty-eighth, as containing what is equivalent to those expressions, and to the Twenty-ninth, as abundantly justifying the use of them.

The Bishop has nothing left for him but to make an ineffectual attempt to escape under the shelter of a quibble upon the word "worthy," with which I shall not

further trouble the Court. Mr. Gorham stands upon the Articles, refusing to be driven from them, or to go beyond them. He interprets the Services by them, and he justifies, illustrates, and confirms that interpretation by reference to the writings of the Reformers, which I have taken the liberty of extending considerably on the present occasion. That the Bishop should have been unacquainted with them might have been incredible, had we not seen the materials supplied to his Counsel for the hearing of this case.

There are yet some portions of the Examination to which I must ask a moment's attention. It is said that the reference by Mr. Gorham to the indulgence claimed for all human writings in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer is nothing to the purpose, as it applied to a former edition. But I apprehend that it is very much to the purpose, and that it needs must be so, unless we suppose that the writers did not consider themselves to be human; inasmuch as claiming indulgence for all human writings, they, of necessity, ask it for their own.

I have not taken anything from the Catechism, for I did not think it necessary to go into a minute examination of it; and, in reality, it has been under discussion throughout the argument. But the Court will allow me to make one or two additional remarks upon what the child is there taught to declare itself, viz.,—

“A member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.”

Now, inheriting the kingdom of heaven is a future thing, and yet the child is brought up in the faith of possessing it. I do not mean to say that “the kingdom of heaven” has no application to the present state, but that the words are not, and never were intended to be exhausted by the condition of the child while on earth, it is *that*, the full fruition of which necessarily embraces futurity.

Again, the third part of every child's answer to the question,—

“What dost thou chiefly learn from these Articles of thy belief?”
is (“I learn to believe”),

“Thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the elect people of God.”

In exact harmony with the principles maintained by the Reformers, and on which the Services and Catechism were framed. I am aware that attempts have been made to explain away this inference by a forced construction of the words; but I think that their meaning, as understood by those who inserted them, is placed beyond dispute by what is now in the possession of the Court.

It appears, by a note at page 73 of the volume of the Examination, that the Bishop and Mr. Gorham had some discussion as to the *prospective* reference (which the Bishop denied) of the word “being” in the Collects for Christmas-day and the Circumcision. The instances of a use of those terms in other parts of the Church Services, which Mr. Gorham had then in his recollection, were sufficient only to satisfy the Bishop that it was matter of opinion. But as the question has been renewed here, it may be as well to refer the Court to one other passage of a similar kind, where the words can, by no possibility, have any other than a prospective application; it occurs in the Second Prayer to be used *in Storms at Sea*, viz. :—

“That we, being delivered from this distress, may live to serve thee,” &c.

It is also observable, that up to the year 1812, the Collect for Christmas-day was thus described by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in their Tract entitled, “Directions for Decent Behaviour in the House of God,” viz., “Regeneration, a Prayer for it.” The title was, however, subsequently altered, the word “regeneration” giving place to “renovation.” I believe, also, that about the same time Bishop Bradford's

Sermon was displaced by Dr. Mant's Tracts. I give no opinion whether this change was for better or worse; but I submit, that up to the year 1812, in the judgment of that venerable Society, it was not heretical to doubt whether all baptized infants were regenerated.

In the Act on petition it is broadly asserted and alleged—on behalf of the Bishop of Exeter, in justification of his refusal to institute Mr. Gorham—"that he (Mr. Gorham) held, and persisted in maintaining, that spiritual regeneration is not given or conferred in Baptism;" a statement which I can only characterize as having been framed to meet the necessities of the Bishop's case. It accords with the spirit of those questions of a personal character, which, without a shadow of reason, imputed an uncandid motive.

Question 51 is in these words: "Why, then, did you forbear to state *that* in making the reference?" The Answer is as follows: "I did not 'forbear' understanding that word to hint at a *motive* for non-statement. But, I reply, I did not state the fact, simply because I considered it *nihil ad rem*."

But that does not satisfy his Lordship.

The succeeding questions, which I do not think it worth while to quote, clearly shew that the Bishop imputed and persisted in imputing a disingenuous motive to Mr. Gorham, though expressly disavowed by him. It is an evidence of the spirit in which the Examination was conducted, and confirms what I had occasion before to remark; that an inquiry into the correctness of the doctrines held by Mr. Gorham was the ostensible rather than the real, at any rate it was not the only, object in view.

In like manner, Question 65 most unfairly insinuates that Mr. Gorham claimed the dishonest liberty of setting forth doctrines contrary to the Prayer-book, provided he could shew some colour for the proceeding, by a forced construction of the Articles.

The Bishop once interrupted Mr. Gorham's argument to volunteer his own belief that the words "this is my body" should receive a literal interpretation, and yet that he did not hold the doctrine of Transubstantiation. I can only say that I should regret being compelled to undertake the defence of a clergyman charged with that Romish heresy, who, without further explanation, had broadly made that assertion. My confidence of success in such a case would be by many degrees less than it is in the present. The Counsel for the Bishop have ridiculed the notion of prevenient grace. If still disposed to try that weapon upon the same subject, I think I may venture to say that they have been supplied with fresh opportunities, other and more numerous than they were probably prepared to expect.

Sir, upon the substantial merits of the case, as arising upon this Examination, I need not longer dwell; I could but repeat what I have already urged on the attention of the Court. I have shewn that the Articles are the true standard of the doctrine of the Church of England; and, therefore, I have said, with undoubting confidence, that Mr. Gorham did rightly in taking his stand upon them. I have not heard it even suggested in argument, that any opinion advanced by Mr. Gorham, on his Examination, is opposed to either of the Articles. The charge against him is, I think, that of too rigid adherence to them.

I have shewn beyond the possibility of successful contradiction, that Mr. Gorham's interpretation of the language of the Services of Baptism is in exact agreement with the doctrine of the Church, as expressed in the Articles, and with the opinions of those by whom both the Articles and Services were framed. I have shewn that, by the hypothesis which Mr. Gorham has adopted, he can and does accept the whole scheme of doctrine enunciated by the Church of England, whether dogmatically asserted in her Articles, or familiarly taught in her

Catechism, or devotionally expressed in her Services, without exception, or mutilation, or addition. This, whatever the Bishop might be enabled to do in his own person on a pressing occasion, assuredly his Counsel have not succeeded in doing for him on this.

Without saying more of the circumstances which led to the Examination, or the manner or the spirit in which it was conducted, this seems to me to be most clear, viz., that the Bishop felt the difficulty he was in, and would gladly have been delivered from it; failing in that, and with only a humiliating alternative before him, he chose what he thought to be the lesser evil, and adopted the course which it has been so unsuccessfully attempted to justify. That it will meet with the sanction of this Court I have not the smallest apprehension; and therefore the little I have yet to add is in consideration of far higher objects than any in which the interests of Mr. Gorham are individually and exclusively involved.

Mr. Gorham does not deny that grace is given in and by the Sacrament of Baptism. On the contrary, he holds that when rightly received, it is never unaccompanied by a spiritual blessing. But he does deny that grace is tied to the Sacraments. That, he says, is a doctrine of the Church, *not* of England, but of Rome.

Again, Mr. Gorham does not deny that spiritual regeneration may be given in Baptism; he admits that it often is; but he maintains that the peculiar and especial character of that Sacrament is its being a seal of promises given, and blessing imparted. He holds that God is not tied to Baptism as a means and channel of his grace even with infants; for, that He gives his Spirit as He will, when He will, and to whom He will—whether before, or in, or after Baptism, or not at all.

He holds that infants may be saved without the Baptism of water; and, therefore, he most fully accedes to the

declaration in the Rubric, that baptized infants dying before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved.

Mr. Gorham goes all the way with the teaching of the Church ; when she forbears to speak he is silent.

Mr. Gorham does not hold that all baptized persons, infant or adult, are spiritually regenerated in and by Baptism. That, he says, is a doctrine of the Church of Rome, not of the Church of England.

He does not hold that Baptism is necessarily the initiation of spiritual life. That again, he says, belongs to the Church of Rome, not the Church of England. He does not admit that Baptism is, as described by the Bishop of Exeter, "the foundation of all Christian doctrine." The Church of England declares that repentance and faith are pre-requisites to it.

Mr. Gorham does not reject as erroneous any portion of the Church Catechism. Neither does he adopt divers and opposite interpretations of the same words occurring in two Services, to make the doctrine of the Church conform to any scheme or notion of his own.

Mr. Gorham does not hold, as was incautiously asserted on the other side, that three-fourths of the religion of the Church of England rest on tradition. That he considers to be another and a necessary tenet of the Church of Rome.

Mr. Gorham does not forsake the great doctrines of the Reformation, which he believes to be (as the truth of God) the bulwark of the Church of England, and the glory of this Christian land ; prized by the nation at large, however scorned they may be by some degenerate "SONS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT."* But holding fast to them, he remembers, that as the Churches of Rome and England differ widely in doctrine, so are they of an opposite spirit. That if tradition be the root, and persecution the strength,

* Horsley's "Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of St. Alban's."

of the Church of Rome ; scriptural truth is the basis, and toleration the ornament of the Church of England.

While, therefore, I feel a perfect conviction of the correctness of Mr. Gorham's views, the soundness of his doctrine, the justice, and therefore security of his case ; I press no accusation of unsoundness against his more exalted opponent. And looking back upon the long period during which the peace of the Church has been undisturbed ; while those who have held conflicting but not heretical opinions, on this and other controverted subjects, have been allowed to dwell together : I say in the contemplation of all coming days, *esto perpetua*. The arms of the Church of England are wide enough to embrace both parties, and I trust that the Court will do nothing to limit that space, or assist either to exclude the other from her bosom.

APPENDIX.

TRANSLATIONS OF LATIN EXTRACTS USED IN THIS WORK.

At page 59, line 29, "Si quis sit."

Canon VI.—If any one shall say, that the Sacraments of the New Law do not contain the grace which they signify, or do not confer grace itself to those who interpose no obstacle, as though they were only external signs of grace or of justification received through faith, and certain marks of Christian profession by which the faithful are discerned among men from the unfaithful; let him be anathema.

At page 60, line 21, "Si quis anathema sit."

Canon VII.—If any one shall say, that grace is not given always and to all through Sacraments of this kind as far as is [possible] on the part of God, even though they receive them rightly, but sometimes, and to some; let him be anathema.

Canon VIII.—If any one shall say, that through those Sacraments of the New Law, grace is not conferred by *the work wrought*, but that only [solam] faith of the divine promise is sufficient for obtaining grace; let him be anathema.

At page 60, line 31, "Sacramenta acquirunt."

The Sacramentes were not ordeined of Christe to be gased upon, or to be caried about, but that we shoulde rightlie use them. *And in soche onelie*, AS WORTHHELIE RECEIVE THE SAME *thei have an wholesome effecte and operacione*, and yet NOT THAT OF THE WORKE WROUGHT, as some men speake, which worde, as it is strange and unknowen to Holie Scripture: so it engendreth no godlie, but a verie superstitious sense. *But thei that receive the Sacramentes* UNWORTHHELIE purchase to themselves damnatione, as Saincte Paule saieth.

Page 65, line 4, "Illud adultam."

But that which the opponents introduce, that faith and charity, and other virtues, are not infused into infants as not being consentient, is by many not allowed absolutely; since, touching this, a question is proposed among theological doctors; some affirming that, by the virtue of Baptism, guilt is indeed remitted, but grace is not conferred on infants; others saying that sin is put away [dimitti], and that virtues are infused into [children] having them as regards habit, not as regards use until they come to adult age.

Page 65, line 24, "Verum conferri," and at line 30,
"Aliis eligendam."

But, since, as regards the effect of Baptism in infants, certain theological doctors are found to have contrary opinions.

§ 3. Some of them saying, that, by the virtue of Baptism, guilt is indeed remitted to infants, but that grace is not conferred : others, on the contrary, asserting that both guilt is remitted to them in Baptism, and that virtues and informing [informans] grace are infused, as regards habit, although not, with respect to that time, as regards use. But we, looking at the general effect of the death of Christ (which through Baptism is applied equally to all who are baptized), have thought, with the approbation of the sacred council, that preference should be given to the second opinion (which says, that informing grace and virtues are conferred in Baptism as well on infants as on adults) as being more probable, and more consonant and agreeable to the declarations of holy men, and of modern doctors of theology.

At page 81, line 20, "Imprimis collegerint;" page 81, line 28, "Et quoniam congruunt;" and at page 82, line 2, "Quoniam confirmabunt."

In the first place, however, they shall take care, that they never teach anything in preaching, which they may desire to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and of the New Testament, and which the Catholic fathers and the antient bishops have collected out of that same doctrine.

And since those Articles of the Christian religion agreed on by the bishops in the legitimate and holy Synod, convoked and celebrated by the command and authority of the most serene Princess Elizabeth, were undoubtedly collected from the sacred books of the Old and New Testament, and agree in all things with the heavenly doctrine which is in them contained.

Since, also, the book of public prayers, and the book of the Inauguration of Archbishops, &c., contain nothing contrary to that doctrine, whosoever shall be sent to teach the people, shall confirm, not only by their sermons, but by subscription, the authority and faith of those articles.

At page 86, line 4, "Doctrina accepimus."

Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline, in every rightly instituted Church, are always most religiously to be respected by all her Ministers. We have received the order of *Doctrine* in the XXXIX. *Articles, Worship in the Liturgies, Discipline in the Canons*, from the purest fountains of antiquity, piously, carefully, and prudently ratified, principally by the Reformed Bishops.

At page 90, line 29, "Deinde concipienda est."

Moreover, the cruel impiety of these [persons] makes an attack upon Baptism, the administration of which, altogether without any reason, they deny to infants. For the infants of Christian [parents] belong to God and to the Church, not less than the children of the Hebrews formerly belonged ; since circumcision was administered to them in infancy, Baptism ought also to be granted [*admoversi*] to our infants, because they are partakers of the same promise and Divine covenant, and were received by Christ with the greatest kindness. By

others, also, many errors are heaped upon Baptism, which some regard with such superstition [*sic attoniti*], that they believe that the Holy Spirit emerges from that external element itself; and that His force, name, and influence, from which we are re-created, and His grace, and the other gifts proceeding from Him, float in the very founts of Baptism themselves. In short, they maintain that our whole regeneration is due to that sacred well, which flows into our senses. But in truth, the salvation of our souls, the renewal of the mind, and the benefit of adoption, by which God acknowledges us for sons, proceed from the Divine mercy flowing to us through Christ, and also from the promise manifest in the Holy Scriptures. Moreover, the scrupulous superstition of those persons ought to be viewed as impious, who so closely tie the grace of God and the Holy Spirit to the elements of the Sacraments, that they plainly affirm that no infant of Christian [parents] will obtain salvation who shall have been snatched away by death before he can be brought to Baptism. For salvation is denied only to those who despise this sacred fount of Baptism, or who start back from it with a kind of pride or contumacy: and since such unreasonableness cannot happen in the age of little children, nothing can be determined by the authority of Scripture against their salvation; yea, rather, since the general promise includes such little children, we ought to entertain the best hope of their salvation.

At page 91, line 20, "Sacramentum . . . addit;" and at line 27, "Baptismus . . . fides."

A Sacrament, (as we understand it in this place,) is a *sign* which may be seen, instituted by God; by which the grace flowing to us from the promises and merits of Christ, and the declared pardon of sins remitted by them, are sealed; which has a two-fold force in our minds. . . . Lastly, it sharpens and excites faith, and adds strength to it.

Baptism is a Sacrament, by which our regeneration [*secunda generatio*] is sealed to us by external sprinkling, and the pardon of sins is granted, and the influence of the Holy Spirit is infused, as is comprehended in the words set forth in Baptism, in order that faith may be more elevated and perfect in us.

At page 107, line 8, "Nos autem . . . salutem."

But, since we have happened to mention this Sacrament, we have thought it worth our labour to prefix this definition of it: that it is a Sacrament, instituted by the Lord, consisting of water and the Word, by which we are regenerated, and ingrafted into Christ for the remission of sins and eternal salvation.

At page 107, line 19, "Non quod . . . judicamus."

Not that it doth always so happen of necessity. Because the promise is not general as touching all the seed, but of that only in which the election together consenteth. Otherwise the posterity of Ishmael and Esau were of Abraham. But, because we ought not to be over curious in searching out the secret providence and election of God, therefore we judge the children of saints to be saints.

At page 107, line 31, "Hoc dum . . . baptizantur."

This, if we do well, must be observed while the Sacraments be given, that the thing which is sealed by the outward figure, be had, and be there present. Those that be of ripe age declare that they

hold the promise by faith, when they confess the truth of Christian doctrine; and then is applied the sealing, and they are baptized.

At pages 108 and 109, "Parvuli ætatem licet."

And in the young children of the Christians, when they are declared by the words of God to have the promise of the Covenant and to be in the Church, this communion and promise no doubt is sealed by Baptism. Sometimes indeed, by an overthwart order, it happeneth that the thing followeth the applying of the Sacrament; and then the promise, or the gift of the promise, which in very deed is not there, is not sealed; as appeareth in them which be unbelievers, and come to Baptism with a feigned mind. Those men assuredly belong not unto the Church, neither have they the justification or communion of Christ, only they carry a sign about with them. Howbeit it may be that if they become converted unto Christ, they may afterwards attain these things; neither must Baptism be therefore renewed.

But this way of receiving the Sacraments is not allowed. And as touching the riper age, there is no doubt, when they faithfully receive Baptism, but that they first entered into the covenant of God And finally all they which be of ripe age do first by faith take possession of Christ before they be marked with his badge, unless that (as we said before) they come in hypocrisy unto Baptism.

They were wont to object that there is one consideration to be had of infants, and another of them which be of ripe age, because they that be of years may have faith whereby they belong to the flock of God, which cannot be attributed unto infants, seeing they have not the use of understanding and reason, by which they may give consent to the promises of God. I know it hath been thought of some, and those of no small estimation, that infants have faith, as though God wonderfully, and beyond the course of nature, worketh in them. Whose opinion, to say the truth, I do not very readily embrace; not that I judge this to be impossible unto God, that either he may pour in virtues into what age soever he will, or that he can even bring forth a sense of the mind or reason in the souls of infants by preventing the time of nature, or else bringing to pass that although they themselves neither understand, nor know what is to be believed, yet the Holy Ghost apprehendeth the same in them, and consenteth unto them even as he is said to do in them that be of age in the Epistle to the Romans, when we require things that we know not whether they be profitable or no, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, when we know not of it, and prayeth as it behoveth, and God, for so much as he knoweth his meaning, heareth him. And these things, I say, as touching God, may easily be done. *But seeing the Holy Scripture telleth me not that young children do believe, or that these miracles be done in them, neither that I do see this to be of necessity unto their salvation, I judge it sufficient to affirm, that they which shall be saved, (for so much as by election and predestination they belong unto the treasure of God), are endued with the Spirit of God, which is the root of faith, hope, charity, and of all virtues, which he afterward sheweth forth and declareth in the children of God, when through age it may be done.*

At pages 110 and 111, "Cur autem instructi."

But the cause why our adversaries are so loath to allow of this

opinion, is for that they attribute unto the Sacraments more than they ought to do. For they think that, by the power and efficacy of the work of Baptism, sin is forgiven. Neither do they acknowledge that by the Sacraments forgiveness is rather sealed, which they of perfect age obtain by believing, and the young children of the faithful, which belong unto election, have it already by the Holy Ghost and by grace. And, when thou shalt demand of them wherefore they baptize infants, knowing that they perceive not those things which are spoken, nor yet do consent unto the covenant which is pronounced unto them in Baptism, perhaps they will answer according to the opinion of Augustine, that they be saved by other men's faith, that is, by the faith of their parents. But the prophet saith, that every one is saved by his own faith, and not by another man's. . . .

In the young children, which are offered to be baptized, we say that the same [faith] is begun, I mean in their beginning and root, because they have the Holy Ghost, from whence as well faith as all other virtues do flow. And that it may the better appear that young children which are baptized (and not only they which have been already baptized) do pertain unto the Church, we will declare it evidently enough by the Epistle to the Ephesians, where it is said, 'Ye men, love your wives, even as Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it, being cleansed by the washing of water, through the Word,' &c. By this place thou seest that it is the Church which is washed and baptized. So then, so long as young children be baptized, it is manifest that they belong unto the Church, and they cannot truly be parts of the Church unless they be adorned with the Spirit of Christ. Wherefore, young children which belong unto the election of God, before they can be baptized are instructed by the Spirit of the Lord.

At pages 112 and 113, "Hoc tempore . . . scripsi."

At this time nothing could happen more desirable or agreeable to me than that I should see your 'Censura' on the sacred books. [The Book of Common Prayer, 1549.] I therefore return you infinite thanks for your condescension in sending it to me. A request had already been made to me, that I also would myself state my opinion respecting it. And when, by reason of my want of knowledge of the [English] language, the version of Mr. Cheek was given me for perusal, I noted those things which appeared to me worthy of correction, as far as I was able to collect them from that [translation].

But because, in the version put into my hands, several things were wanting, on that account I passed over many things, concerning which I have said nothing in my annotations. Afterwards, when I had obtained information, from your writing, that these things were contained in that book, I regretted that, two or three days before, I had already carried my criticism to the Most Reverend [Archbishop Cranmer] who had pressed me for it.

However, I at length applied this remedy. I collected the heads of those matters which, from your writing, I perceived to be deficient in my book; and, since the same things which you disapproved appeared also to myself to be undesirable to be retained; and thus I reduced them into short articles; and I stated to the Most Reverend (who already knew that you had written on these matters to the Lord Bishop of Ely) that I agreed with you that a change should be made

in all those particulars which I laid before him as noted in those articles.

However, in my former annotations, almost all those things which had offended you had been annotated by me. I would now send you a copy, but I have it not so written out that you would be able to read it. I have only wondered how you could have omitted to disapprove the order which is given in the Communion of the Sick, if it shall happen to be on the Sunday on which the Lord's Supper is celebrated, that the Minister should, in that case, take with him a portion of the elements, and so should administer the Communion in the house of the sick person. In which matter, it offends me that they do not there repeat those things which particularly belong to the Lord's Supper, since I agree with you in thinking that the words of the Supper belong more to men than to bread or to wine.

I have stated, that it clearly seems to me, that all things that are necessarily required for the Lord's Supper, should be both said and done in the presence of the sick person, and of those who communicate with him. And it is, indeed, wonderful, for what reason they should scruple to say those words in the presence of a sick person, which might be very profitable to him, when they are willing to repeat them, without profit, whenever it happens during communion in the Church that wine is wanting in the cup, although the persons who are present, and take the Sacraments, have already heard them. These are the points which I have considered as of some importance; and I do not fully understand why you have omitted them. But in all those matters which you have judged to need amendment, I subscribe to your opinion.

At pages 114, 115, and 116, "Cum igitur . . . invocant."

When, therefore, we had assembled on the next morning Doctor Luther proposed these points to us [with reference to Baptism]:— Since there are many who are unwilling that infants should be baptized: others, also, are found, who indeed permit them to be baptized, but who nevertheless maintain that Baptism is only a naked symbol, and therefore suffer infants to die without Baptism: lastly, others who baptize without water: on these accounts [he thought], that we ought to declare our faith on these heads. He first, however, explained, what he himself believed ought to be done; namely,—that infants should be baptized; and that it [Baptism] is truly efficacious, and confers the adoption of the sons of God: finally, that it ought to be administered with water; as they have written on these points in the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and elsewhere.

To these points Bucer replied, according to the propositions which we had agreed on among ourselves.

That all of us contended faithfully against the enemies of Pædobaptism, and would still contend, as our writings testify. Moreover, that Baptism is considered by us as sacred, and that we teach concerning it, not as a certain naked symbol, but as the true laver of regeneration, which [*regeneration*] is exhibited to us with water by the influence [*virtute*] of God and by the ministry of the minister. That some, however, had been offended in this matter, that we (since faith in Holy Scripture is taken for hearing, the Word of God being applied to us through hearing, according to the saying of Paul, Rom. x., "Faith cometh by hearing,") with St. Augustine and other fathers, had said and

written, that infants have not faith in that manner: but that, if we choose to take the word faith in a broad signification, for any dedication of ourselves to God, in this sense even infants may be called faithful.

For that we simply believe and teach, that, in Baptism, a true regeneration, and a true adoption to be the sons of God, is communicated, and that the Holy Spirit works in them according to the measure and capacity given to them, as we read of St. John, that he was filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb. Lest, however, we should glide into the opinion of the *opus operatum*, that we are wont to declare those things in such a manner, that we may acknowledge that the whole of this is the work of God alone, and that the ministration alone belongs to the minister. But that we have not hitherto been able to discover by what place of Scripture it is established, or how it can be proved from the sacred text, that infants, while they are baptized, understand the words of the Gospel, and believe them in very act, and thus are saved.

To these points Luther rejoined: that this was not the view taken by him and his [friends]: but that, even as we ourselves when asleep are reckoned among the faithful, and in very deed are such, although actually we are [then] thinking nothing of God; so a certain initial faith (which, however, is the work of God) exists in infants, according to their measure and capacity, of which we are ignorant; that he called this faith; and that he preferred that no disputations on these matters should be agitated, and that no one should boldly attempt to investigate nicely these points, by what process, for instance, God performs in them this his work.

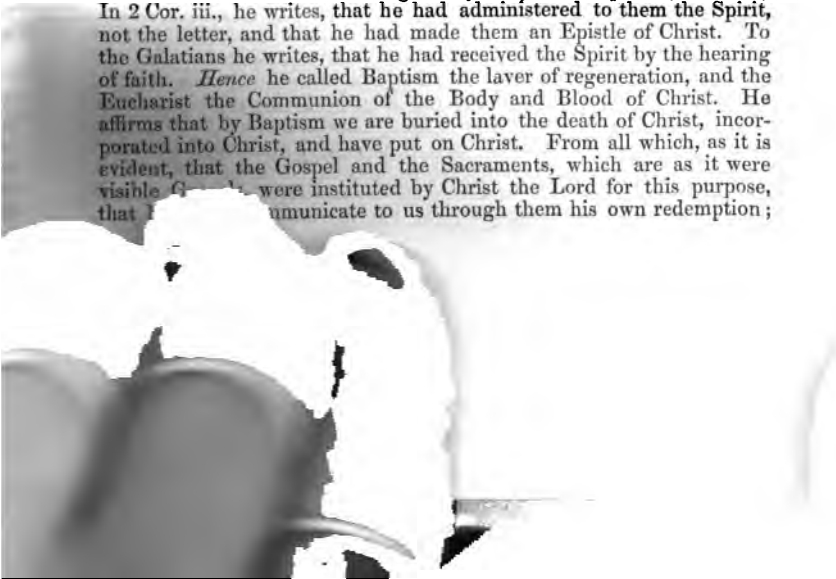
Doctor Luther and his [friends] acquiesced in these statements; and desired that we would on our part pledge ourselves, that we would exhort the people not to allow their infants to come to adult age without Baptism. For that they belonged to the Church, and that, therefore, Baptism was to be conferred on them as far as lies in our power: which we cheerfully undertook to do, even as in time past we have faithfully opposed in our sermons the contempt of Baptism, and have faithfully exhorted all that present their children for Baptism, since in very deed Baptism is the laver of regeneration, and the communication of the blood of Christ, which we ought to desire and wish to be imparted to our children. We added, however, an express declaration, that that is the work of Christ alone, who, in performing this, makes use of the outward ministry of the Church: we also subjoined a caution, against that old, but even to this day too popular error of the Papists, by which men seek the salvation of their children in the outward work of Baptism, but neither know the true Baptist, Christ, nor pray to him for the salvation of children.

At pages 116, 117, and 118, "*Magnus exhiberi.*"

That otherwise great and ardent preacher of faith in Christ, and certain other learned and religious men, had written, that God had determined to confer faith and the Holy Spirit upon no one, except through those external means, the Word and the Sacraments; and that grace and the Holy Spirit are infused by these as by channels.

Now, as these opinions—that external words and Sacraments are sure seals, channels, and instruments, in which, most assuredly, the Spirit of Christ is received—seemed in some measure to support error

and superstition, we were desirous of most fully asserting for Christ the Lord, all remission of sins, the encouragement of the conscience, and the communion of the Spirit of Christ, and of diligently maintaining that we here receive by faith only the things which he bestows and works for our salvation. And for this cause we said, that Ministers absolve from sin, when they pronounced persons absolved through Christ; and that they confirm consciences, and establish and advance faith, while they preach Christ as confirming consciences and increasing faith; that they wash away sins by Baptism, and regenerate [*regignere*], when by words and holy sprinkling they represent and testify that Christ washes from sins; that they feed with the body and blood of the Lord, while, likewise, they preach by words and signs that Christ himself nourishes us with himself. We made the principal use of Baptism to be this—to be received into the Church, and to profess our faith; of the Eucharist, to be admonished of our redemption, and to profess our perseverance in faith and love. We never thought, nor wrote, that the signs are empty signs; on the contrary, in those very passages which I retract, I clearly testified that *Scripture speaks of the sacred signs AS THEY ARE WHEN TRULY RECEIVED, IN WHICH CASE THE THING SIGNIFIED IS ANNEXED TO THE SIGN, AND THAT IS REALLY PERFORMED WHICH IS REPRESENTED BY THE SIGNS.* It is not our view that the Ministers do nothing, since, with Paul, we wrote, that they plant and water. This only we wished to urge—that without the power of Christ, by which he draws us to himself, the work of Ministers, and moreover the words themselves and external signs administered, cannot bring salvation to any one. . . . I confess, therefore, first, that I have not sufficiently explained the authority of God, and the true benefit in the Word and Sacraments, in not carefully inculcating that truth, that Christ uses the Minister as his organ, that above all things he may set forth in his Word and Sacraments the remission of sins and communion with himself, and that the *true profit in these things is*, if the Minister, as diligently as possible, commends this exhibition, and the others *embrace it by a true faith.* The profession of religion is here secondary. For *faith precedes the profession of faith*, and the preaching of the mercy of God and the redemption of Christ, which is the object of faith, precedes faith. Moreover, the symbols in the Sacraments are nothing but visible words, by which the preaching and offering of the grace of Christ becomes more influential and more effectual to rouse the mind. Further, I acknowledge that these metaphors, that the Sacraments are instruments, organs, and channels of grace, are agreeable to the Scriptures; for St. Paul writes to the Corinthians: “I have begotten you by the Gospel.” (1 Cor. iv.) In 2 Cor. iii., he writes, that he had administered to them the Spirit, not the letter, and that he had made them an Epistle of Christ. To the Galatians he writes, that he had received the Spirit by the hearing of faith. Hence he called Baptism the laver of regeneration, and the Eucharist the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ. He affirms that by Baptism we are buried into the death of Christ, incorporated into Christ, and have put on Christ. From all which, as it is evident, that the Gospel and the Sacraments, which are as it were visible Gifts, were instituted by Christ the Lord for this purpose, that he communicate to us through them his own redemption;



so it is very clear that these are to the Lord, to a certain extent, instruments and channels of his Spirit and grace, and thus that there is nothing absurd in these metaphorical expressions; if only this is carefully pointed out for observation, that Ministers and the Ministry are such instruments of our salvation that they have nothing of it, nor supply anything, in themselves, but only so much of it as Christ, using them *according to his own spontaneous mercy, condescends to give and supply through them.* And in this way we ourselves have never denied that the words and Sacraments of the Gospels are Christ's organs, by which he gives us the benefit of his redemption. This only we deny, as we have clearly expressed it, that Sacraments and sacred words are *such instruments and channels of grace as that they bring salvation with whatever mind or faith you partake of them.* For some have so tied the grace of Christ to them, that these external things seem of themselves to work salvation . . . so they, in their turn, when we—desirous of guarding, lest any one should seek salvation for himself from ceremonies, without certain faith in Christ—wrote that Christ bestows his grace and Spirit according to his will upon whom and when he pleases, and that what is performed by man can effect nothing of this, thought that we attributed nothing else to the Sacraments than that they are external marks of our communion in Christ, and that we did not acknowledge that they are symbols of grace, and that grace is given through them.

At page 118, line 33, "Primum Ecclesia."

To the form to the administration of Baptism a very wholesome order is prefixed

For who can have any feeling of Christian communion, who does not acknowledge how much it becomes those who are mutually members in Christ to flock together, when any one who has been born among them for eternal death, is about to be born again in the Church for eternal life, and to be received among the sons of God: in order, both, that they may jointly pray to God for that benefit, and that as the Church of Christ they may in one body confer it. That as he is made a member of each of them by this Sacrament, so he may be received as a member by each; and that every one may bind himself to him in the sight of the Lord for mutual offices of Christian communion both for body and soul.

Bishops and Archdeacons must, therefore, take special care that Ministers both faithfully teach the people this order, and themselves religiously observe it, not omitting it in deference to the superstition or the licence of any one. For not a few of those by whom infants are baptized pay greater respect to those things which are of carnal pomp which Satan has introduced to these sacred rites, than to those things which concern Baptism and regeneration.

And when the Church is not in the habit of assembling either at morning or evening prayers, it would be altogether more advisable that Baptism should be administered immediately after preaching, when the Church is gathered together in the greatest numbers.

At page 135, line 13, "Sub hæc accipe."

And at line 24, "Ad extirpandam interdicimus."

The University was anxious concerning the thorough eradication of the remains of Popery among us, and therefore committed this business

to Doctors of eminent learning, to whom power was given to revive a Statute formerly enacted for this end, and to render it more full and complete according to what in their judgment was needful. The delegates discharged their duty with the greatest fidelity and care, and brought the Statute before the Academic Council formally convoked, with some additions, for the benefit of literary youth, and for the increase of Evangelical truth. Take the principal heads of those things which were transacted in this matter from the register alleged in the margin.

1. For the extirpation of every heresy, and for the instruction of youth in true piety, we judge and decree that these books shall be read, viz., the larger Catechism of Alexander Nowell, in Latin and in Greek, or the Catechism of John Calvin, in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, or the "Elements of Christian Religion," by Andrew Hyperius; or the "Heidelberg Catechism," according to the ability of hearers or the choice of readers.

2. To these may be added, Henry Bullinger's Catechism for Adults, and Calvin's Institutes, or the Apology of the Church of England, or the Articles of Religion drawn up in the London Synod and published by royal authority, with the explanation of Common Places by testimonies taken from Holy Scripture, or occasionally from the fathers. We will that the juniors should be required to attend the first reading, and all those seniors who are not distinguished by any degree should be required to attend the second.

3. We forbid the reading and possessing of all Catechisms which are contrary to this wholesome teaching, and of all superstitious and Papistical books.

At page 141, line 9, "Quo proferant."

By what means, and when, does the effect follow the use of the Sacraments?

When we receive them in faith, seeking Christ alone in them and his grace.

Is this grace fulfilled in all, promiscuously?

Many, while they close the way to it by their wickedness, cause that it should be void with regard to themselves. Thus the fruit does not come to any but to the faithful alone. But yet nothing falls away from the nature of the Sacrament.

For what reason, then, are infants baptized?

In order that it may be testified that they are heirs of the blessing promised to the seed of the faithful: that, when they become adults, the truth of their Baptism being acknowledged, they may receive and bear fruit from it.

At pages 141 and 142, "Quid Baptismus."

What are Sacraments?

They are sacred signs and seals meeting the eyes, instituted by God for this purpose, that through them he may more [distinctly] declare and seal to us the promise of the Gospel; that is to say, that he freely gives remission of sins, and eternal life, not only to all universally, but also to each believer individually, on account of that one sacrifice of Christ perfected on the cross?

In what way art thou admonished and confirmed in Baptism, that thou art a partaker of that one sacrifice of Christ?

Because Christ has commanded the external laver of water, this

promise being added, that I am not less certainly washed by his blood and Spirit from the pollutions of the soul, that is, from all my sins, than I am cleansed outwardly by water, by which the pollutions of the body are used to be washed away.

What is it to be cleansed by the blood and Spirit of Christ?

It is to receive from God remission of sins freely on account of the blood of Christ, which he in his sacrifice on the cross poured forth for us; moreover, to be also renewed by the Holy Spirit, and he sanctifying me to be made a member of Christ, in order that we may more and more die unto sins, and may live holily and unblameably. . . .

Is then external Baptism of water the very cleansing of sin?

It is NOT: for the blood of Christ alone purgeth us from all sin.

Why, then, does the Holy Spirit call Baptism the laver of Regeneration, and the cleansing of sins?

God does not thus speak, without strong reason; forsooth not only that he may teach us, that, as the pollutions of the body are cleansed by water, so our sins are expiated by the blood and Spirit of Christ; but, much more in truth, that he may assure us by this Divine symbol and pledge, that we are not less truly washed from our sins by internal ablution, than we are washed by external and visible water.

Are even infants to be baptized?

Most certainly: for since they belong, as much as do adults, to the covenant and Church of God; and since remission of sins and the Holy Spirit, the worker of faith, is promised to them not less than to adults, through the blood of Christ; they are to be grafted into the Church of God through Baptism, and to be distinguished from the children of unbelievers; in like manner as was done under the old covenant by circumcision, for which under the new covenant Baptism was substituted.

At page 162, line 28, "Non frustra . . . habentur."

It is not in vain that the apostle requires faith, in order that we may obtain the benefit of spiritual regeneration. For, as in the Baptism of adults *prevenient* [*prævia*] faith is required, according to the saying of the Saviour, Mark xvi. 16, "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned:" SO SUBSEQUENT FAITH IS REQUIRED FROM THOSE WHO ARE BAPTIZED WHILE THEY ARE STILL INFANTS, WHICH IF THEY DO NOT EXHIBIT AFTERWARDS, THEY RETAIN MERELY THE EXTERNAL SANCTIFICATION OF BAPTISM, THEY HAVE NOT THE INTERNAL EFFECTS OF SANCTIFICATION. "LET US NOT TRUST, WITH PAPISTS, TO THE WORK WROUGHT, but let us go on to inquire whether there be in us all those other things, without which the internal effects of Baptism are not possessed."

Page 163, line 5, "In Baptismo . . . Ecclesia."

In Baptism, regeneration is insisted on, as the work wrought of the Sacrament, which is *Papistical*.

Answer. Baptism pledges merely external and Sacramental regeneration; the Church in charity declares that the Holy Spirit [S. S.] makes it internal.

Page 163, line 17, and page 164, line 3, "Neque aliter . . . nobis."

Nor must those passages of either ancient or of modern writers be interpreted otherwise: at all events they do not think aright, if they

attribute efficacy to Sacraments in any other way, than according to the offer of grace, *according to the good pleasure of the will of God.*

He who sanctified Jeremiah from the womb, and who caused hatred between Jacob and Esau in the womb itself, and who instilled such joy into John Baptist before he was born, the same also imbues little infants, *according to his pleasure*, with the Holy Spirit and with grace, the wonderful effects of which are sometimes seen almost in the very cradle: so that we must not doubt of the regeneration of *those to whom he denies the use of a longer life.* But here I wonder that our [author] has brought forward the words of Luther (although they are not the words of Luther, in the form in which he has placed them) whose business it is by those words in that place, to oppose *that Papistical saying of the schoolmen, which is the foundation of the opus operatum*; WHICH HERE, HOWEVER, I KNOW NOT WITH WHAT FACE, IS PROFOUNDED AS A DOGMA OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH; "That Sacraments always confer their effect on the person *who does not interpose an obstacle*"—["*non ponenti obicem*:"] where, on the contrary, Luther maintains that the efficacy of *all* the Sacraments depends entirely on faith. . . .

Many seem to us, and are called faithful, fearing God, justified, regenerate, sons of God, who however in truth are not such, and who already are known to God as very different persons than they seem to us.

Page 164, line 13, "Sacramenta accipiunt."

Sacraments not only signify, but *in their legitimate use*, both seal and actually exhibit that which they signify; so that he who comes *rightly prepared* to Baptism or to the Eucharist, receives the things themselves together with the signs: for they are not void and empty signs.

A Sacrament is defined from *its legitimate use and end*, as Baptism is said to be the laver of regeneration, *though all are not regenerated who are washed with baptismal water*: but it is so called on the part of God, who offers it; but it is the fault of men that it is not the laver of regeneration to those who dissemble before God and men.

The answer is easy; that children, although they do not believe, nor have consciences, are yet baptized in *[the view of] future faith, and repentance, and a good conscience*, for it is not necessary, as Calvin says, that the thing should be antecedent to the sign in the order of time; hence, the promise of the divine good-will is sealed in the consciences of infants, not while they are infants, but afterwards, when they have come to adult years, and have begun to have the use of reason.

They [i.e., the Papists] maintain, that grace is conferred on children by the Sacraments of the New Testament, without faith, or any good disposition. This is to attribute efficacy to the Sacraments in *[the case of] children through themselves and by their own force, which we say is not true.* For we affirm that grace is not conferred by the Sacraments, even to children, by the work wrought, so that of necessity all have grace who receive the Sacraments.

Sacraments effect nothing by the WORK WROUGHT, that is merely because they are administered,—*not even in little ones.* For little children do not receive grace only because they are baptized.

We do not deny that Baptism is the Sacrament of Regeneration, even in little children; but not by the work wrought. *God works freely, and sanctifies in Baptism WHOM HE WILL.*

If they belong to the Church, are adorned by the Spirit, are received into heaven, are cleansed from sin; that this is done by the Holy Spirit without an act of faith, *and not, as the Papists say, that this grace is infused in Baptism, but sealed, since the infants of the faithful are holy before Baptism, through the grace of God, which is annexed to his covenant.* Therefore, infants are baptized, that is, receive the seal, not that they may be made holy, but because they are holy.

Page 203, line 3. "*Omnipotens Amen.*"

O Almighty, everlasting God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I call upon thee in behalf of this *N.* thy servant, who seeks the gifts of thy Baptism, and desires thine everlasting grace through spiritual regeneration; receive him, O Lord, and as thou hast said: 'Ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened;' therefore, give good to him who seeks, open the gate to him who knocks, that he may obtain the benediction of this heavenly washing, and may receive the promised kingdom of thy grace, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Page 205, line 3. "*Et legi, composuit.*"

I have read what HE HIMSELF [Bucer] *has composed*, on the *Ceremonies of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper*,—for Archbishop Herman's Liturgy.

Note, page 211.

Dr. Whittaker—"Prælectiones de Sacramentis," page 33, says:—

"Dico per aquam hic non Baptismum sed Spiritum Sanctum intelligi, μεταφορικῶς, quia postea statim dicitur quod natum est ex Spiritu spiritus est nullâ aquæ factâ mentione."

[I hold that by water here is to be understood, metaphorically, not Baptism, but the Holy Ghost, because immediately afterwards the being born of the Spirit is spoken of without any mention of water.]

Archbishop Whitgift.—"The place in the third of John, by you alleged, hath divers interpretations, and the most part of the antient writers do take water in that place for materiall and elemental water, as Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Cyril, and sundry others, even as many of the antient fathers, as I have read upon that text. But, because I do mistake as much as you the opinion of those that think infants to be condemned, which are not baptized, therefore, I will not contend with you, either in the interpretation of that place, or of any other thing that you have spoken touching this error.

ERRATA.

- Page 53, line 28, *for* "that" *read* "than."
- " 59, " 33, *for* "discerniuntur" *read* "discernuntur."
- " 61, " 1, *for* "INDIGNA" *read* "INDIGNE."
- " 62, " 6, *for* "Why, what was," *read* "Why, that was."
- " 65, " 22, *for* "Constitution" *read* "Constitutions."
- " 65, " 23, and page 66, line 1, *for* "Vienna" *read* "Vienne."
- " 67, " 9, and 89, line 18, *for* "Davidson" *read* "Davison."
- The pamphlet here referred to was an Article published in the "Quarterly Review," for July, 1810, by the late Rev. John Davison, B.D., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, republished at Oxford as a pamphlet, 1847.
- " 69, " 25, *for* "Bishop" *read* "Dr."
- Page 95, line 7, *for* "translation from the Latin" *read* "Latin translation."
- Page 97, line 22, *for* "are the" *read* "are by the."
- " 104, " 15, and page 129, line 13, *for* "A. Lasco" *read* "A Lasco."
- Page 109, line 5, *for* "nonque" *read* "non quia."
- " 110, " 16 and 18, *for* "sacra mentis" *read* "Sacramentis."
- " 112, " 16, *insert* comma after "containeri;" and at line 17, *erase*; after "doluit;" line 20, *for* "de fuisse" *read* "defuisse."
- Page 114, line 37, *erase* accent on "verò."
- " 115, " 18, *for* "administrum" *read* "ad ministrum."
- " 115, " 22, *for* "hujusque" *read* "huc usque."
- " 115, " 30, *for* "deputationes" *read* "disputationes."
- " 116, " 38, *for* "dilectionemque" *read* "dilectionéque."
- " 124, " 1, *for* "1552" *read* "1562;" at line 15, *for* "1556" *read* "1566;" and at line 27, *for* "1656" *read* "1566:" also at page 128, line 30 and 35, *for* "1557" *read* "1587."
- Page 135, line 11, *for* "Antiquitates Oxoniensis" *read* "Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis."
- Page 140, line 29, *for* "promise of" *read* "promise to."
- " 159, " 1, *for* "1554" *read* "1566."
- " 164, *insert* at the beginning of line 22, "Sed Responsio facilis est."
- Page 193, line 12, *for* "1st March" *read* "28th March."
- " 202, " 6, *for* "Catechism Major" *read* "Major Catechism."
- " 202, " 10, *for* "Luther's Catechism" *read* "a passage in Luther's Catechism."
- Page 202, line 29, *for* "hope;" *read* "hope,".
- " 209, " 18, *dele* "1."
- " 224, " 50, *dele* "and thus."
- " 226, " 34, *for* "that present" *read* "that they would present."
- " 228, " 15, *for* "so" *read* "So."
- " 228, " 25, *for* "the form to" *read* "the form for."
- " 232, " 39, *for* "mistake" *read* "mislike."

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EXAMINATION BEFORE ADMISSION to a BENEFICE by the BISHOP OF EXETER, followed by Refusal to Institute, on the Allegation of Unsound Doctrine respecting the EFFICACY of BAPTISM. EDITED BY THE CLERK EXAMINED, GEORGE CORNELIUS GORHAM, B.D., Vicar of St. Just-in-Penwith, Cornwall; Presented Vicar of Brampford Speke, Devon; and formerly (for eighteen years) Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge.

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